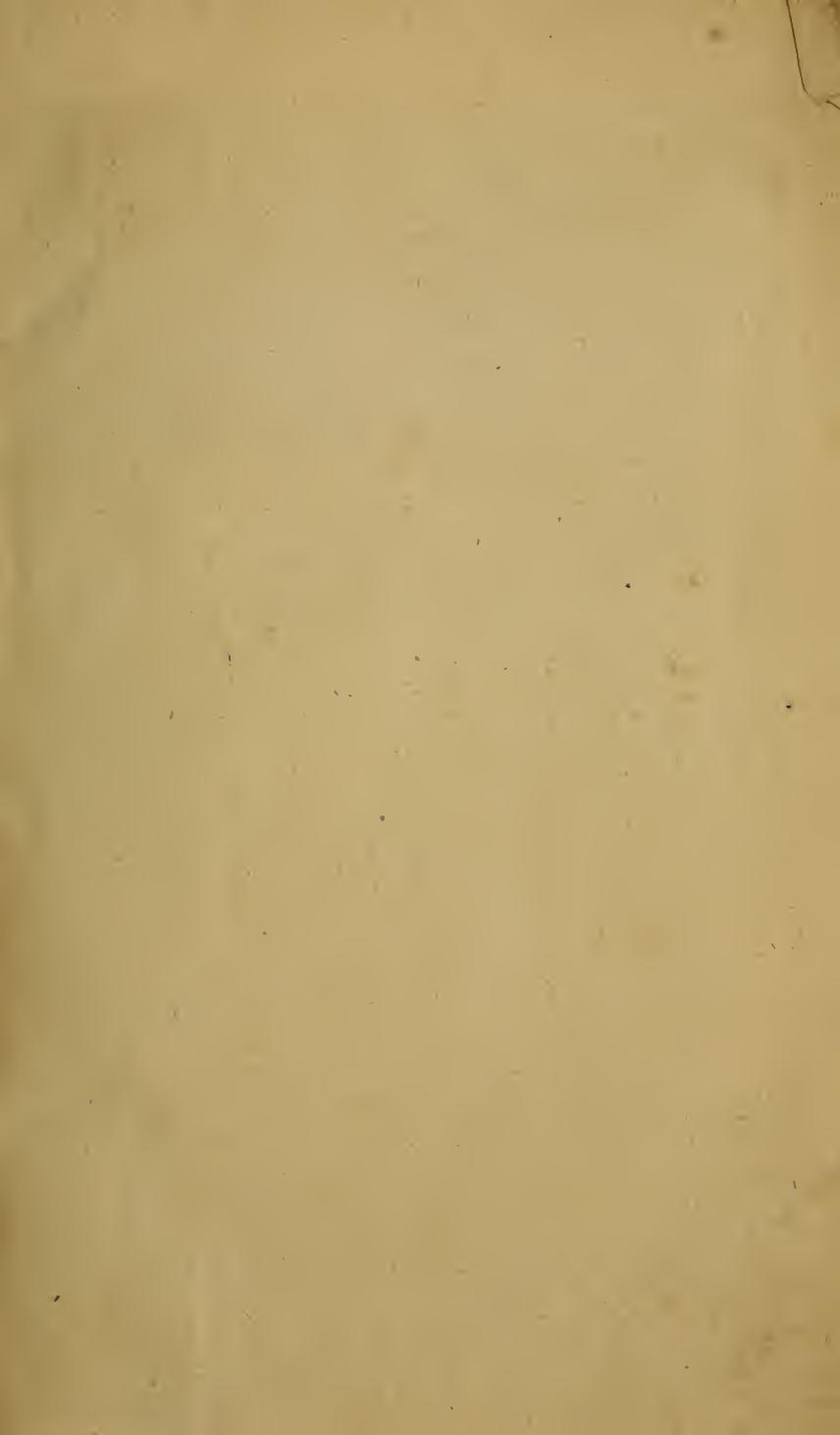


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HENRY GRATTAN Esq.^r

A compleat Collection of the

R E S O L U T I O N S

O F T H E

Volunteers, Grand Juries, &c. of Ireland,

Which followed the celebrated Resolves of the

F I R S T D U N G A N N O N D I E T.

To which is prefixed

A train of HISTORICAL FACTS relative to the Kingdom,
from the Invasion of Henry II. down,

W I T H T H E

HISTORY OF VOLUNTEERING, &c.

“ We know our Duty to our Sovereign, and are *loyal* ; we
know our Duty to *ourselves*, and are resolved to be FREE.”

THE PEOPLE.

By C. H. WILSON.

V O L. I.

D U B L I N :

PRINTED BY JOSEPH HILL.

M DCC LXXXII.

TO THE
VOLUNTEER BODY
OF
I R E L A N D.

S I R,

YOU have promised and proved yourself to be the warmest friend to Liberty and Religious Toleration. I trust I have some claim to your friendship; like you, I have endeavoured for the benefit of my country; like you, in the midst of dangers, I speak bold *truths*; and still farther like you, I glory in the name of an *Irishman*: I, therefore, place this Work under your protection, as a lasting monument of your *public spirit*.

C. H. WILSON.

Dublin,
August 9, 1782.

HISTORICAL FACTS

RELATIVE TO

I R E L A N D.



THAT the present shining period of Irish history may not hereafter be clouded from the vague conjecture of literary pride, the affectation of uncommon discernment, or the prejudice of party, I shall make no apology for presenting my countrymen with a full and compleat collection of their firm and liberal resolutions; to which I intend to prefix the History of Volunteering, and a retrospect of this kingdom from the invasion of Henry II. &c. merely to exhibit our privileges, the innovation of our rights, the restriction of our commerce, and the necessity of our armed associations; so that by contrasting the past time with the glorious prospect of the future, we may be the more truly sensible of the blessings we are about to enjoy, the obligations we are under of piously transmitting them to our children, and the gratitude we owe to Heaven, and those virtuous patriots,

whose firm exertions have restored us to that liberty, from which happiness is inseparable.

The English at every period appear to have entertained the highest contempt for the Irish *. Nor is there an historian among them who has treated us, or our affairs, with impartiality; nay, even Giraldus Cambrensis, who attended Henry II. in his expedition here, as Historiographer, has ascribed Mac Murragh's expulsion to an affair of gallantry †, when in fact, it was the tyranny he exercised over his subjects, as may more fully appear in Lord Lyttleton's history of Henry II. on authorities furnished by that venerable historian, Charles O'Connor, Esq; from whose lips I have had a further corroboration of this assertion.

King Henry having obtained a bull from Pope Adrian, his countryman, for the investiture of this kingdom, I shall present it to my readers, as a proof of the miserable superstition, gross ignorance, and Papal authority of those days; and, above all, the religious pretext for the invasion.

“ADRIAN, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ the illustrious King of England, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the design of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in Heaven; while, as a catholic prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the church, teaching the truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, exterminating the roots of vice from the field of the Lord, and for the more

* Even the refined Chesterfield, of graceful memory, who dwelt long amongst us, in a letter to the Bishop of Waterford, represents one of our provinces as then in a state of the most profound ignorance and barbarism.

† The cause of Dermot's expulsion, says the legendary monk, was in consequence of his having carried off the wife of Tiergnan O'Rourke King of Breiffne. This lady is represented by the Poets and Annalists of those days, as exceedingly beautiful, and of an amorous disposition; her flight with Mac Murragh it is generally thought carried only the appearance of reluctance; her name was Dervorghal, her father was O'Mallaghlin, King of Meath; she lived to the age of 90, and died in a Convent in Drogheda. Mr. Hume calls her Omach, and her husband Ororic, King of Meath; mistakes which, however trifling, should awaken suspicion to negligence, or ignorance in more important affairs.

convenient

convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favour of the apostolic see. In which, the maturer your deliberation, and the greater discretion of your procedure, by so much the happier, we trust, will be your progress, with the assistance of the Lord; as all things are used to come to a prosperous end and issue, which take their beginning from the ardour of faith and the love of religion.

“ There is indeed no doubt but that Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ the sun of righteousness hath shone, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman church, as your excellency also doth acknowledge. And therefore we are the more solicitous to propagate the righteous plantation of faith in this land, and the branch acceptable to God, as we have the secret conviction of conscience that this is more especially our bounden duty.

“ You then, most dear son in Christ, have signified to us your desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws, and to extirpate the plants of vice; and that you are willing to pay from each house a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of this land whole and inviolate. We therefore, with that grace and acceptance suited to your pious and laudable design, and favourably assenting to your petition, do hold it good and acceptable, that, for extending the borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, for the correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and the increase of religion, you enter this island, and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of God and welfare of the land; and that the people of this land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their lord: the rights of their churches still remaining sacred and inviolate; and saving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny from every house.

“ If then you be resolved to carry the design you have conceived into effectual execution, study to form this nation to virtuous manners; and labour by yourself, and others whom you shall judge meet for this work, in faith, word, and life, that the church may be there adorned, that the religion of the Christian faith may be planted and grow up, and that all things pertaining to the honour of God, and the salvation of souls, be so ordered, that you may be entitled to the fulness of eternal reward from God, and obtain a glorious renown on earth throughout all ages.”

As the conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, is an expression frequent in the mouths of the English, I shall adduce Mr. Molyneux's observations on this subject :

" I come to enquire, whether Ireland might be properly said to be conquered by King Henry II. or by any other Prince in any succeeding rebellion. And here we are to understand by conquest, an *acquisition of a kingdom by force of arms, to which force likewise has been opposed* ; if we are to understand conquest in any other sense, I see not of what use it can be made against Ireland's being a free country. I know *conquestus* signifies a peaceable acquisition, as well as an hostile subjugating of an enemy. Vid. Spelman's Gloss. And in this sense William I. is called the Conqueror, and many of our Kings have used the epocha *post conquestum*. And so likewise Henry II. stiled himself *conquestor & dominus Hiberniæ* ; but that his conquest was no violent subjugation of this kingdom, is manifest from what foregoes* : for here we have an intire and voluntary submission of all the ecclesiastical and civil states of Ireland, to King Henry II. without the least hostile stroke on any side ; we hear not in any of the chronicles of any violence on either part ; all was transacted with the greatest quiet, tranquillity, and freedom imaginable. I doubt not but the barbarous people of the island at that time, were struck with fear and terror of King Henry II.'s powerful force which he brought with him ; but still their easy and voluntary submissions, exempts them from the consequents of an hostile conquest, whatever they are ; where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place.

" I have before taken notice of Henry II.'s using the stile of *conquestor Hiberniæ* † ; I presume no argument can be drawn from hence, for Ireland's being a conquered country ; for we find that many of the Kings of England have used the æra of *post conquestum* ; Edward III. was the first that used it in England, and we frequently meet with *Henricus post conquestum quartus*, &c. as taking the Norman invasion of William I. for a conquest. But I believe the people of England would take it very ill to be thought a conquered nation, in the sense that some impose it on Ireland : and yet we find the same reason in one case, as in the other, if the argument from the King's stile of *conquestor* prevail. Nay, England may be said much more properly to be conquered by Wil-

* See page 11 of this writer.

† Mr. Selden, will not allow that ever Henry II. used this stile. Tit. Hon. Par. 2. C. 5. Sect. 26.

William I. than Ireland by Henry II: for we all know with what violence and opposition from Harold, King William obtained the kingdom, after a bloody battle nigh Hastings. Whereas Henry II. received not the least opposition in Ireland; all came in peaceably, and had large concessions made them of the like laws and liberties with the people of England, which they gladly accepted, as we shall see hereafter. But I am fully satisfied, that neither King William I. in his acquisition of England, or Henry II. in his conquest of Ireland, obtained the least title to what some would give to conquerors. Though for my own part, were they conquerors in a sense never so strict, I should enlarge this prerogative very little or nothing thereby.

“ Another argument for Henry II’s hostile conquest of Ireland, is taken from the opposition which the natives of Ireland gave to the first adventurers, Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Gerald, and Earl Strongbow; and the battles they fought in assisting Mac Murragh, Prince of Leinster, in the recovery of his principality.

“ ’Tis certain there were some conflicts between them and the Irish, in which the latter were constantly beaten; but certainly the conquests obtained by those adventurers, who came over only by the King’s license and permission, and not at all by his particular command (as is manifest from the words of the letters patents of license recited by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Hib. expug.* page 760. *Edit. Francf.* 1603. *Angl. Norm. Hiber. Camd.*) can never be called the conquest of Henry II. especially considering that Henry II. himself does not appear to have any design of coming into Ireland, or obtaining the dominion thereof, when he gave to his subjects of England this license of assisting Mac Murragh. But I conceive rather the contrary appears, by the stipulations between Mac Murragh, and the adventurers; and especially between him and Strongbow, who was to succeed him in his principality.

“ From what foregoes, I presume it appears that Ireland cannot properly be said so to be conquered by Henry II. as to give the parliament of England any jurisdiction over us; it will much more easily appear, that the English victories, in any succeeding rebellions in that kingdom, give no pretence to a conquest: if every suppression of a rebellion may be called a conquest, I know not what country will be excepted. The rebellions in England have been frequent; in the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, one side or other must needs be rebellious. I am sure the commo-

tions

tions in King Charles I's time, are stiled so by most historians. This pretence therefore of conquest from rebellions, has so little colour in it, that I shall not insist longer on it: I know conquest is an hateful word to English ears, and we have lately seen a book * undergo a severe censure, for offering to broach the *doctrine of conquest in the free kingdom of England*.

" But, to take off all pretence from this title by conquest, I come in the third place to enquire, *what title conquest gives by the law of nature and reason*.

" And in this particular I conceive, that if the aggressor or insulter invades a nation unjustly, he can never thereby have a right over the conquered: this I suppose will be readily granted by all men: if a villain, with a pistol at my breast, makes me convey my estate to him, no one will say that this gives him any right: and yet just such a title as this has an unjust conqueror, who with a sword at my throat forces me into submission; that is, forces me to part with my natural estate, and birth-right, of being governed only by laws to which I give my consent, and not by his will, or the will of any other.

" Let us then suppose a just invader, one that has right on his side to attack a nation in an hostile manner; and that those who oppose him are in the wrong: let us then see what power he gets, and over whom.

" First, 'Tis plain he gets by his conquest no power over those who conquered with him; they that fought on his side, whether as private soldiers or commanders, cannot suffer by the conquest, but must at least be as much freemen, as they were before: if any lost their freedom by the Norman conquest, (supposing King William I. had right to invade England) it was only the Saxons and Britains, and not the Normans that conquered with him. In like manner supposing Henry II. had right to invade this island, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the antient race of the Irish, that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britains, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free-born subjects; they, nor their descendants, could not in reason lose these, for being successful and victorious; for so, the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish. Now, it was manifest that the great body of the pre-

* Bishop of Salisbury's Pastoral Letter.

sent people of Ireland, are the progeny of the English and Britains, that from time to time have come over into this kingdom; and there remains but a meer handful of the antient Irish at this day; I may say, not one in a thousand: so that if I, or any body else, claim the like freedoms with the natural born subjects of England, as being descended from them, it will be impossible to prove the contrary. I conclude therefore, that a just conqueror gets no power, but only over those who have actually assisted in that unjust force that is used against him.

“ And as those that joined with the conqueror in a just invasion, hath lost no right by the conquest; so neither have those of the country who opposed him not: this seems so reasonable at first proposal, that it wants little proof. All that gives title in a just conquest, is the opposers using brutal force, and quitting the law of reason, and using the law of violence; whereby the conqueror is entitled to use him as a beast; that is, kill him or enslave him.

“ Secondly, Let us consider what power that is, which a rightful conqueror has over the subdued opposers: and this we shall find extends little farther than over the lives of the conquered; I say little farther than over their lives; for how far it extends to their estates, and that it extends not at all to deprive their posterity of the freedoms and immunities to which all mankind have a right, I shall shew presently. That the just conqueror has an absolute power over the lives and liberties of the conquered, appears from hence, because the conquered, by putting themselves in a state of war, by using an unjust force, have thereby forfeited their lives. For quitting reason (which is the rule between man and man) and using force (which is the way of beasts) they become liable to be destroyed by him against whom they use force, as any savage wild beast, that is dangerous to his being.

“ And this is the case of rebels in a settled commonwealth, who forfeit their lives on this account. But as for forfeiting their estates, it depends on the municipal laws of the kingdom. But we are now enquiring what the consequents will be between two contesting nations.

“ Which brings me to consider how far a just conqueror has power over the posterity and estates of the conquered.

“ As to the posterity, they not having joined or assisted in the forcible opposition of the conqueror's just arms, can lose no benefit thereby. It is unreasonable any man should be punished but for his own fault. Man being a free agent, is
only

only answerable for his own demerits; and as it would be highly unjust to hang up the father for the son's offence, so the converse is equally unjust, that the son should suffer any inconvenience for the father's crime. A father hath not in himself a power over the life or liberty of his child, so that no act of his can possibly forfeit it. And though we find in the municipal laws of particular kingdoms, that the son loses the father's estate for the rebellion or other demerit of the father, yet, this is consented and agreed to, for the public safety, and for deterring the subjects from certain enormous crimes, that would be highly prejudicial to the commonwealth. And to such constitutions the subjects are bound to submit; having consented to them, though it may be unreasonable to put the like in execution between nation and nation, in the state of nature: for in settled governments, property in estates is regulated, bounded and determined by the laws of the commonwealth, consented to by the people; so that in these, 'tis no injustice for the son to lose his patrimony for his father's rebellion or other demerit.

" If therefore the posterity of the conquered, are not to suffer for the unjust opposition given to the victor by their ancestors, we shall find little place for any power of the conquerors over the estates of the subdued. The father, by his miscarriages and violence, can forfeit but his own life; he involves not his children in his guilt or destruction. His goods, which nature (that willeth the preservation of all mankind as far as possible) hath made to belong to his children to sustain them, do still continue to belong to his children. 'Tis true, indeed, it usually happens that damage attends unjust force; and as far as the repair of this damage requires it, so far the rightful conqueror may invade the goods and estate of the conquered; but when this damage is made up, his title to the goods ceases, and the residue belongs to the wife and children of the subdued.

" It may seem a strange doctrine, that any one should have a power over the life of another man, and not over his estate; but this we find every day; for though I may kill a thief that sets on me in the high-way, yet I may not take away his money; for it is the brutal force the aggressor has used, that gives his adversary a right to take away his life, as a noxious creature: but it is only damage sustained, that gives title to another man's goods.

" It must be confessed, that the practice of the world is otherwise, and we commonly see the conqueror (whether just

or unjust) by the force he has over the conquered, compels them with a sword at their breast to stoop to his conditions, and submit to such a government as he pleases to afford them. But we enquire not now, what is the practice, but what right there is to do so. If it be said, the conquered submit by their own consent: then this allows consent necessary to give the conqueror a title to rule over them. But then we may enquire whether promises, extorted by force without right, can be thought consent, and how far they are obligatory; and I humbly conceive they bind not at all. He that forces my horse from me, ought presently to restore him, and I have still a right to retake him: So he that has forced a promise from me, ought presently to restore it, that is, quit me of the obligation of it; or I may chuse whether I will perform it or not: for the law of nature obliges us only by the rules she prescribes, and therefore cannot oblige me by the violation of her rules; such is the extorting any thing from me by force.

“ From what has been said, I presume it pretty clearly appears, that an unjust conquest gives no title at all; that a just conquest gives power only over the lives and liberties of the actual opposers, but not over their posterity or estates, otherwise than as before is mentioned; and not at all over those that did not concur in the opposition.

“ They that desire a more full disquisition of this matter, may find it at large in an incomparable treatise concerning the *true original, extent, and end of civil government*, chap. 16. This discourse is said to be written by my excellent friend, John Locke, Esq. Whether it be so or not, I know not; this I am sure, whoever is author, the greatest genius in Christendom need not disown it.

“ But granting that all we have said in this matter is wrong, and granting that a conqueror, whether just or unjust, obtains an absolute arbitrary dominion over the persons, estates, lives, liberties, and fortunes of all those whom he finds in the nation, their wives, posterity, &c. so as to make perpetual slaves of them and their generations to come; let us next enquire whether concessions granted by such a victorious hero, do not bound the exorbitancy of his power, and whether he be not obliged strictly to observe these grants.

“ And here I believe no man of common sense or justice, will deny it: none that has ever considered the law of nature and nations, can possibly hesitate on this matter; the very proposing it, strikes the sense and common notions of all men so forcibly, that it needs no farther proof. I shall therefore

insist no longer on it, but hasten to consider how far this is the case of Ireland: and that brings me naturally to the fourth particular proposed, viz. To shew by precedents, records, and history, what concessions and grants have been made from time to time to the people of Ireland, and by what steps the laws of England came to be introduced into this kingdom.

“ We are told by Matth. Paris, historiographer to Henry III. that Henry II. a little before he left Ireland, in a public assembly and council of the Irish at Lismore, did cause the Irish to receive, and swear to be governed by the laws of England: ‘ Rex Henricus (saith he) antequam ex Hibernia rediret apud Lismore concilium congregavit ubi leges Angliæ sunt ab omnibus graranter receptæ, & juratoria cautione præstita confirmatæ.’ Vid. Matth. Paris, ad An. 1172. Vit. H. 2.

“ And not only thus, but if we may give credit to Sir Edward Cook, in the 4th instit. cap. 1. and 76. and to the inscription to the Irish *Modus tenendi parliamentum*, it will clearly appear, that Henry II. did not only settle the laws of England in Ireland, and the jurisdiction ecclesiastical there, by the voluntary acceptance and allowance of the nobility and clergy, but did likewise allow them the freedom of holding of parliaments in Ireland, as a separate and distinct kingdom from England; and did then send them a modus to direct them how to hold their parliaments there: the title of which modus runs thus:

‘ Henricus rex Angliæ conquestor & dominus Hiberniæ,
 ‘ &c. mittit hanc formam archiepiscopis, episcopis, ab-
 ‘ batibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis,
 ‘ vicecomitibus, majoribus, præpositis, ministris, & om-
 ‘ nibus fidelibus suis terræ Hiberniæ tenendi parliamen-
 ‘ tum.’ In primus summonitio parliamenti præcedere
 debet quadraginta dies. And so forth.

“ This modus is said to have been sent into Ireland by Henry II. for a direction to hold their parliaments there. And the sense of it agrees for the most part with the *modus tenendi parl.* in England, said to have been allowed by William the conqueror, when he obtained that kingdom; where ’tis alter’d, ’tis only to fit it the better for the kingdom of Ireland.

“ I know very well the antiquity of this modus, so said to be transmitted for Ireland by Henry II. is question’d by some learned

learned antiquaries, particularly by Mr. Selden * and † Mr. Pryn, who deny also the English modus as well as this. But on the other hand, my Lord Chief Justice Cook, in the 4th instit. page 12, and 349, does strenuously assert them both. And the late reverend and learned Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, has publish'd the Irish modus, with a vindication of its antiquity and authority in the preface.

“ There seems to me but two objections of any moment raised by Mr. Pryn against these modi. The one relates both to the English and Irish modus; the other chiefly strikes at the Irish. He says the name *parliament*, so often found in these modi, was not a name for the great council of England known so early as these modi pretend to. I confess I am not prepared to disprove this antiquary in this particular: but to me it seems reasonable enough to imagine that the name *parliament*, came in with William the conqueror: 'tis a word perfectly French, and I see no reason to doubt its coming in with the Normans. The other objection affects our Irish modus, for he tells us, That Sheriffs were not establish'd in Ireland, in Henry II's time, when this modus was pretended to be sent hither; yet we find the word *vicecomes* therein. To this I can only answer, that Henry II. intending to establish in Ireland the English form of government, as the first, and chief step thereto, he sent them directions for holding of parliaments, designing afterwards by degrees, and in due time, to settle the other constitutions, agreeable to the model of England. If therefore England had then Sheriffs, we need not wonder to find them named in the Irish modus, tho' they were not as yet establish'd amongst us, for they were designed to be appointed soon after, and before the modus could be put regularly in execution; and accordingly we find them establish'd in some counties of Ireland, in King John's time.

“ This Irish modus is said to have been in the custody of Sir Christopher Preston of Clane in Ireland, An. 6. Hen. 4. and by Sir John Talbot, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under King Henry IV. It was exemplify'd by Inspeximus under the great seal of Ireland, and the exemplification was sometimes in the hands of Mr. Hackwel of Lincoln's Inn, and by him was communicated to Mr. Selden. The tenor of which exemplification runs thus:

‘ Henricus dei gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & dominus
‘ Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervene-

* Tit hon. par. 2. c. 5. sect. 26. edit. Lond. an. 1672.

† Against Cook's 4th instit. c. 76.

- ‘ rint salutem inspeximus tenorem diversorum articulo-
 ‘ rum in quodam rotulo pergamenico scriptorum cum
 ‘ Christophero Preston, milite tempore arrestationis suæ
 ‘ apud villam de Clare, per deputatum dilecti & fidelis
 ‘ nostri Johannis Talbot de Halomshire chivaler locum
 ‘ nostrum tenentis terræ nostræ Hiberniæ nuper factæ in-
 ‘ ventorum ac coram nobis & concilio nostra in eadem
 ‘ terræ nostra apud villam de trim, Nono die Januarii
 ‘ ultimo præteriti in hæc verba,
- “ Modus tenendi parlamenta Henricus rex Angliæ con-
 “ questor & dominus Hiberniæ, mittit hanc formam ar-
 “ chiepiscopis, &c.” and so as before, “ Et omnibus
 “ fidelibus suis terræ Hiberniæ tenendi parlamentum
 “ imprimis summonito, &c.” and then follows the mo-
 dus, agreeable in most things with that of England, only
 fitted to Ireland. Then the exemplification concludes :
- ‘ Nos autem tenores articulorum prædictorum de assensu
 ‘ præfati locum tenentis & concilii prædicti tenore presen-
 ‘ tium duximus exemplificandum & has literas nostras
 ‘ fieri fecimus patentes. Teste præfato locum nostrum
 ‘ tenente apud Trim. 12 die Januarii anno regni nostri
 ‘ sexto.
- ‘ Per ipsum locum tenentem & concilium.’

“ Now we can hardly think it credible (says the Bishop of Meath) that an exemplification could have been made so solemnly of it by King Henry IV. and that it should refer to a modus transmitted into Ireland by King Henry II. and affirm that it was produced before the Lord Lieutenant and Council at Trim, if no such thing had been done: this were to call in question the truth of all former records and transactions, and make the exemplification contain an egregious falsehood in the body of it.

“ The Rev. Bishop of Meath, in his fore-cited preface, does believe, that he had obtain’d the very original record, said by my Lord Cook to have been in the hands of Sir Christopher Preston: it came to that learned Prelate’s hands, amongst other papers and manuscripts of Sir William Domville, late Attorney General in this kingdom, who, in his lifetime, upon an occasional discourse with the Bishop concerning it, told him, that this record was bestow’d on him (Sir William Domville) by Sir James Cusse, late deputy Vice-treasurer of Ireland, that Sir James found it among the papers of Sir Francis Aungier, master of the rolls in this kingdom; and the present Earl of Longford (grandson to the said Sir Francis

Francis Aungier) told the Bishop, that his said grandfather had it out of the Treasury of Waterford.

“ Whilst I write this, I have this very record now before me, from the hands of the said Bishop of Meath’s son, my nephew, Samuel Dopping; and I must confess it has a venerable ancient appearance; but whether it be the true original record, I leave on the arguments produced for its credit by the said Bishop.

“ This I am sure of, That whether this be the very record transmitted hither by King Henry II. or not; yet ’tis most certain, from the unanimous concessions of all the fore-mentioned antiquaries, Cook, Selden, Pryn, &c. that we have had parliaments in Ireland very soon after the invasion of Henry II. For Pryn confesses that * King Henry II. after his conquest of Ireland, and the general voluntary submission, homages, and fealties of most of the Irish kings, prelates, nobles, cities, and people, to him, as to their Sovereign Lord and King, anno 1170 (it should be 1172) held therein a general council of the clergy at Cashel, wherein he testify’d many abuses in the church, and establish’d sundry ecclesiastical laws, agreeable to those in the church of England; ‘*Ecclesiæ illius statum ad Anglicanæ ecclesiæ formam redigere modis omnibus elaborandø*.’ To which the Irish clergy promised conformity, and to observe them for time to come, as † Giraldus Cambrensis, who was then in Ireland, and other ‡ historians, relate: ‘*Et ut singulis observatio similis regnum colligaret utrumque*’ (that is England and Ireland) ‘*passim omnes unanimi voluntate communi assensu, pari desiderio regis imperio se subjiiciunt, omnibus igitur hoc modo consummatis, in concilio habito apud Lismore leges Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratantur receptæ, & juratorio cautione præstita confirmatæ* §,’ says Matthew Paris.

“ Can any concession in the world be more plain and free than this? We have heard of late much talk in England of an

* Against the 4th instit. c. 76. p. 249.

† Topograph. Hibern. l. 3. c. 18. Hib. Expug. l. 11. c. 33, 34.

‡ Hoveden an. pars. p. 302. Brampton chr. col. 1071. Knighton de Even. Ang. l. c. 10. col. 2394, 2395. Fol. Virg. hist. Ang. l. 13. Rad. de Diceto. Walsingham, &c.

§ That each and singular every observation similar to one kingdom, should be extended to both (England and Ireland) every where with one common consent and one will, with the equal desire of the King they all form themselves into one empire; this therefore in all things being consummated in a council held at Lismore, the laws of England are received and confirmed by all, with due caution in law and proper confirmation.

original compact between the King and people of England; I am sure 'tis not possible to shew a more fair original compact between a King and people, than this between Henry II. and the people of Ireland, ' That they should enjoy the like ' liberties and immunities, and be govern'd by the same mild ' laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, as the people of England."

The Magna Charta of Ireland coming next to hand, I insert it with the translation, that my countrymen may see *how far* they have enjoyed those privileges, which a sister nation in herself holds sacred.

At the instance of William Earl Marshal, this Charter was granted us, by Henry III. who at the same time, in the most solemn manner, ratified the British one *.

MAGNA CARTA HIBERNIÆ.

REGIS HENRICI TERTII.

XII. DIE NOVEMBRIS, M,CCXVI. ANNO REGNI I.

Ex Libro rubro Scaccharii Dublin.

HENRICUS Dei gratia rex Anglie Dominus Hybernie dux Normannie et Aquitanie et comes Andegavie archiepiscopus episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis forestariis vicecomitibus prepositis ministris civibus ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei et pro salute anime nostre et omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum ad honorem Dei et exaltationem sancte ecclesie et emendationem

* In the year 1253, there was assembled a very full parliament, to whom King Henry III. promised to ratify Magna Charta, and faithfully to observe all the articles of it, which King John and he at his coronation, and often since, had sworn to observe, and this was done in the most solemn and ceremonial manner that could be devised; for the King, with all the great nobility of England, all the Bishops and chief Prelates in their ornaments, with burning candles in their hands assembled to hear the terrible sentence of excommunication upon all the infringers of the same, and at the lighting of those candles, the King bearing one in his hand, gave it to one of the Prelates, saying, "It becomes not me, who am no Priest, to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony;" and withal laid his hand on his breast the whole time the sentence was reading; which done, the Charter of King John's father was read. In the end having thrown away their candles they cried out, "So let them who incur this sentence be extinct, and stink in hell."

Chron. de Marl. p. 228.
regni

regni nostri per consilium venerabilium patrum nostrorum domini Gaulonis titulo sancti Martini presbiteri cardinalis apostolice sedis legati Petri Winton' L. de sancto Asapho J. Bathon' & Glaston' S. Exon' R. Cicestr' W. Coventr' W. Roffen' H. London' Menevens' Bangor' et S. Wygorn' episcoporum et nobilium virorum Willielmi Mariscalli comitis Pembroc' Ranulfi comitis Cestr' Willielmi de Ferrar' comitis de Derbia Willielmi comitis de Aubomarle Huberti de Burgo Justiciarii nostri Savantii de Malo Leone Willielmi Bruerie patris Willielmi Bruerie filii Roberti de Curtenai Falkefi de Breante Reginaldi de Vautort Walteri de Laci Hugonis de Mortuo Mari Johannis de Monemute Walteri de Beuchamp Walteri de Clifford Roberti de Mortuo Mari Willielmi de Cantelup' Mathei filii Hereberti Johannis Mariscalli Alani Basset Philippi de Albiniaco Johannis Extranei et aliorum fidelium nostrorum.

I. Imprimis concessisse Deo et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quod HYBERNICANA ecclesia libera sit et habeat jura sua integra et libertates suas illesas. Concessimus etiam omnibus liberis hominibus de regno nostro pro nobis et heredibus imperpetuum omnes libertates subscriptas habendas et tenendas iis et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris.

II. Si quis comitum vel baronum nostrorum sive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite per servitium militare mortuus fuerit et cum decesserit heres suus plene etatis fuerit et relevium debeatur habeat hereditatem suam per antiquum relevium scilicet heres vel heredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per centum libras heres vel heredes baronis de baronia baronis integra per centum solidos ad plus et qui minus debuerit minus det secundum antiquam consuetudinem feodorum.

III. Si autem heres alicujus talium fuerit infra etatem dominus ejus non habeat custodiam ipsius nec terre sue antequam homagium ejus ceperit et postquam talis heres fuerit in custodia ad etatem pervenerit scilicet viginti et unius annorum habeat hereditatem suam sine relevio et sine fine ita tamen quod si ipse dum infra etatem fuerit miles nichilominus terra remaneat in custodia domini sui usque terminum predictum.

IV. Custos terre hujus et heredis qui infra etatem fuerit non capiat de terra heredis nisi rationabiles exitus et rationabiles consuetudines et rationabilia servicia et hoc sine destructione vel vasto hominum vel rerum et si nos commiserimus custodiam alicujus talis terre vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de exitibus terre illius nobis respondere debeat et ille destructionem de

de custodia fecerit vel vastum nos ab eo capiemus emendam et terre illa committatur duobus legalibus et discretis hominibus de feodo illo qui de exitibus nobis respondeant vel ei cui nos assignaverimus et si dederimus vel vendiderimus alicui custodiam alicujus talis terre et ille destructionem inde fecerit vel vastum amittat custodiam illam et tradatur duobus legalibus et discretis hominibus de feodo illo qui similiter nobis inde respondeant sicut predictum est.

V. Custos autem quamdiu custodiam terre habuerit sustentet domos parcos vivaria stagna molendina et cetera ad illam terram pertinentia de exitibus terra ejusdem et reddet heredi cum ad plenam etatem pervenerit terram suam totam instauratam de carucis et omnibus aliis rebus ad minus secundum quod illam recepit. Hec omnia observentur de custodia archiepiscopatum episcopatum abbatiarum prioratum ecclesiarum et dignitatum vacantium excepto quod custodie hujus vendi non debent.

VI. Heredes maritentur absque disparagatione.

VII. Vidua post mortem mariti sui statim et sine dilatione aliqua habeat maritagium suum et hereditatem suam nec aliquid det pro dote sua vel maritagio vel hereditate sua quam hereditatem maritus suus et ipsa tenuerunt die obitus ipsius mariti et maneat vidua in domo mariti sui per quadraginta dies post mortem ipsius mariti sui infra quos ei assignetur dos sua nisi prius ei fuerit assignata vel nisi domus illa fuerit castrum et si de castro recesserit statim provideatur ei domus competens in qua possit honeste morari quousque dos sua ei assignetur secundum quod predictum est.

VIII. Nulla vidua distingatur ad se maritandum duo voluerit vivere sine marito ita tamen quod securitatem faciat quod se non maritabit sine assensu nostro si de nobis tenuerit vel sine assensu domini sui si de alio tenuerit.

IX. Nos vel ballivi nostri non faciemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo quamdiu catalla debitoris presentia sufficiunt ad debitum reddendum et ipse debitor paratus inde satisfacere nec plegium ipsius debitoris distringatur quamdiu ipse capitalis debitor sufficit ad solutionem debiti et si capitalis debitor defecerit in solutione non habens unde reddat aut reddere noluerit cum possit plegii respondeant de dubito et si voluerint habeant terras et redditus debitoris quousque sit eis satisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo solverunt nisi capitalis debitor monstraverit se esse quietum versus eosdem plegios.

X. Civitas

X. Civitas Dublin' habeat omnes antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines suas preterea volumus et concedimus quod omnes alie civitates ville et burgi et omnes portus habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas.

XI. Nullas distringatur ad faciendum majus servicium de feodo militis nec de alio libero tenemento quam inde debetur.

XII. Communia placita non sequantur curiam nostram sed teneantur in aliquo certo loco.

XIII. Recognitiones de nova disseisina de morte antecessoris et de ultima presentatione non capitantur nisi in suis comitatibus et hoc modo Nos vel si extra regnum fuerimus capitalis justiciarius noster mittemus duos justiciarios per unumquemque comitatum per quatuor vices in anno qui cum quatuor militibus cujussibet comitatus electis per comitatum capiant et in comitatu et in die et loco comitatus assisas predictas.

XIV. Et si in die comitatus assise predictæ capi non possunt tot milites et libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerunt comitatui die illo per quos possint sufficienter judicia fieri secundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.

XV. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto nisi secundum modum delicti et pro magno delicto secundum magnitudinem delicti salvo contenemento suo et mercator eodem modo salva mercandisia sua et villanus eodem modo amercietur salvo wannagio suo si inciderit in misericordiam nostram et nulla predictarum misericordiarum ponatur nisi per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de visneto.

XVI. Comites et barones non amercietur nisi per pares suos et non nisi secundum modum delicti.

XVII. Nullus clericus amercietur nisi secundum formam predictorum et non secundum quantitatem beneficii sui ecclesiastici.

XVIII. Nec villa nec homo distringetur facere pontes ad riparias nisi qui ab antiquo et de jure facere debent.

XIX. Nullus vicecomes constabularius coronatores vel alii ballivi nostri teneant placita corone nostre.

XX. Si aliquis tenens de nobis liacum feodum moriatur et vicecomes vel vallivus noster ostendat literas nostras patentes de summonitione nostra de debito quod defunctus nobis debuit liceat vicecomiti vel ballivo nostro attachiare et imbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo ad valentiam illius debiti per visum legalium hominum ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur donec persolvatur nobis debitum quod clarum fuerit et residuum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum testamentum

defuncti et si nichil debeatur ab ipso omnia catalla cedant defuncto salvis uxori sue et pueris suis rationabilibus partibus suis.

XXI. Nullus constabularius vel ejus ballivus capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus qui non sit de villa ubi castrum suum est nisi statim inde reddat denarios vel respectum inde habere possit de voluntate venditoris si autem de villa fuerit teneatur infra tres septimanas precium reddere.

XXII. Nullus constabularius distringat aliquem militem addandum denarios pro custodia castri si ipse eam facere voluerit in propria persona sua vel per alium probum hominem si ipse eam facere non possit propter rationabilem causam et si nos duxerimus vel miserimus eum in exercitum erit quietus de custodia secundum quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu.

XXIII. Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster vel alius capiat equos vel carectas alicujus pro cariagio faciendo nisi reddat liberationem antiquitus statutum scilicet pro carecta ad duos equos decem denarios per diem et pro carecta ad tres equos quatuordecim denarios per diem.

XXIV. Nec nos nec ballivi nostri capiemus alienum boscum ad castra vel alia agenda nostra nisi per voluntatem ipsius cujus boscus ille fuerit.

XXV. Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de felonis nisi per unum annum et unum diem et tunc reddantur terre dominis feodorum.

XXVI. Et omnes kydelli deponantur de cetero per totam *Avenlich* et per totam *Hyberniam* nisi per costeram maris.

XXVII. Breve quod vocatur precipe de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento unde liber amittere possit curiam suam.

XXVIII. Una mensura vini sit per totum regnum nostrum & una mensura cervisie et una mensura bladi scilicet quarterium *DUBLIN'* et una latitudo pannorum tinctorum russellorum haubergettorum scilicet due ulne infra listas de ponderibus autem sit ut de mensuris.

XXIX. Nichil detur de cetero pro brevi inquisitionis de vita et membris sed gratis concedatur et non negetur.

XXX. Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodi firmam vel focagium vel per burgagium et de alio terram teneat per servicium militare nec habebimus custodiam heredis nec terre sue que est de feodo alterius occasione illius feodi firme vel focagii vel burgagii nec habebimus custodiam illius feodi firme vel focagii vel burgagii nisi ipsa feodi firma debeat servicium

ciam militare. Nos non habebimus custodiam heredis vel terre alicujus quam tenet de alio per servicium militare occasi ne alicujus parve serjantie quam tenet de nobis per servicium reddendi nobis cultellos vel sagittas vel hujusmodi.

XXXI. Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem simplici loquela sine testibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis.

XXXII. Nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonetur vel disseisnatus aut utlegetur aut exulet aut aliquo alio modo destruat nec super eum ibimus nec super eum mittamus nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terre.

XXXIII. Nulli vendemus nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum aut justiciam.

XXXIV. Omnes mercatores nisi publice antea prohibiti fueant habeant saluum et securum exire de HYBERNIA et venire in HYBERNIAM et morari et ire per HYBERNIAM tam per terras quam per aquas ad emendum et vendendum sine omnibus malis tollis per antiquas et rectas consuetudines preterquam in tempore guerre et si sint de terra contra nos guerrina et si tales inveniuntur in terra nostra in principio guerra attachientur sine dampno corporum vel rerum donec sciatur a nobis vel a capitali justiciario nostro quomodo mercatores terre nostre tractentur que tunc inveniuntur in terra contra nos guerrina et si nostri salvi sint ibi alii salvi sint terra nostra.

XXXV. Si quis tenuerit de aliqua escaeta sicut de honore Walingeford Notingham Bolon' Lancastr' vel aliis escaetis que sunt in manu nostra et sunt baronie et obierit heres ejus non det aliud relevium nec faciat nobis aliud servicium quam faceret baroni si terra illa esset in manu baronis et nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo baro eam tenuit.

XXXVI. Homines qui maneant extra forestam non veniant de cetero coram justiciariis nostris de foresta per communes summonitiones nisi sint in placito vel plegii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati sint pro foresta.

XXXVII. Omnes homines qui fundaverint abbatias unde habent cartas regum Anglie vel antiquam tenuram habeant earum custodiam cum vacaverint sicut habere debent et sicut supra declaratum est.

XXXVIII. Omnes foreste que afforestate sunt tempore regis Johannis patris nostri statim deafforestentur et ita fiat de gruariis que per eundem Johannem tempore suo positi sunt in defenso.

XXXIX. Nullus capiatur vel imprisonetur propter appellum femine de morte alterius quam viri sui.

I. Have in the first place granted to God, and confirmed by this our present Charter, for us and for our heirs for ever, That the churches of Ireland shall be free, and shall enjoy their rights and franchises entirely and fully.

II. We have also granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the liberties hereafter mentioned, to have and to hold to them and their heirs of us and of our heirs.

III. If any of our Earls, our Barons, or others that hold of us in chief by the knight-service die, and at the time of his death his heirs be of full age, and relief be due, he shall have his inheritance by the antient relief; to wit, the heir or heirs of an Earl, for an entire Earldom, C. pounds; the heir or heirs of a Baron, for an entire barony, C. marks; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a knight, for a whole Knight's fee, C. shillings at most; and where less is due, less shall be paid, according to the antient customs of the several tenures.

IV. The guardians of the land of such heirs being within age, shall take nothing out of the land of the heirs, but only the reasonable profits, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without making destruction or waste of men or goods; and if we shall have committed the custody of the land of any such heir to a Viscount, or any other who is to account to us for the profits of the land, and that such committee make destruction or waste, we will take of him amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and good men of that fee, who shall account for the profits to us, or to such as we shall appoint. And if we shall give or sell to any person, the custody of the lands of any such heir, and such donee or vendee make destruction or waste, he shall lose the custody, and it shall be committed to two lawful, sage, and good men, who shall account to us for the same, as aforesaid.

V. And the guardian, whilst he has custody of the heir's land, shall maintain the houses, parks, ponds, pools, mills, and other appurtenances to the land, out of the profits of the land itself; and shall restore to the heir, when he shall be of full age, his land well stocked, with ploughs, barns, and the like, as it was when he received it, and as the profits will reasonably afford.

VI. Heirs shall be married without disparagement.

VII. A widow after the death of her husband, shall presently and without oppression, have her marriage and her inheritance; nor shall give any thing for her marriage, nor for her

her dower, nor for her inheritance, which she and her husband were seized of the day of her husband's death: and she shall remain in her husband's house forty days after his death: within which time her dower shall be assigned her.

VIII. No widow shall be compelled to marry if she be desirous to live single, provided she give security not to marry without our leave, if she hold of us, or without the Lord's leave of whom she holds, if she hold of any other.

IX. We nor our Bailiffs will not seize the lands or rents of a debtor for any debt so long as his goods are sufficient to pay the debt: nor shall the pledges be distrained upon whilst the principal debtor have not wherewith to pay the debt, the pledges shall answer for it; and if they will, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor till they have received the debt which they paid for him, if the principal debtor cannot shew that he is quit against his pledges.

X. The city of Dublin shall have all her ancient liberties and freedoms; besides we will and grant, that every city, town, and borough have their customs, and all the ports shall have their liberties, freedoms, and customs.

XI. None shall be distrained to do greater service for a Knight's fee, or for any other frank-tenement than what is due by his tenure.

XII. Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in a certain place.

XIII. Recognizance of *novel Disseisin*, *Mordancester*, and *darrien Presentment*, shall be taken no where but in their proper counties, and in this manner: we, or our Chief Justice (if ourselves be out of the realm) will send two Justices through every county four times a year; who, with four Knights of every county, to be chosen by the county, shall take the said assizes in the county.

XIV. At a day when the county-court is held, and in a certain place: and if the said assizes cannot be taken upon that day, so many Knights and Free-tenants of them that were present in the county-court that day, shall stay, as may give a good judgment, according as the concern may be greater or less.

XV. A freeman shall not be amerced for a little offence, but according to the manner of his offence; and for a great offence he shall be amerced according to the greatness of his offence, saving his contentment; and so a merchant saving his merchandize; and a villain in like manner shall be amerced saving

saving his wainage, if he fall into our mercy: and none of the said amercements shall be affected, but by oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.

XVI. An Earl and a Baron shall not be amerced but by their Peers, and according to the manner of their offence.

XVII. No clerk shall be amerced but according to his lay-fee, and in like manner as others afore said, and not according to the quantity of his church-living.

XVIII. No ville nor any man shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers, but where they antiently have, and of right ought to make them.

XIX. No Viscounts, Constables, Coroners, or other our Bailiffs, shall hold the pleas of our crown.

XX. If any that holds us a lay-fee die, and our Sheriffs, or other our Bailiffs shew our letters patents of summons for a debt which the deceased owed to us, our Sheriff or Bailiff may well attach and inventory the goods of the dead, which shall be found upon his lay-fee, to the value of the debt which the deceased owed to us, by the view of lawful men, yet so as nothing be removed till such time as the debt, which shall be found to be due to us, be paid; and the residue shall go to the executors to perform the testament of the dead: and if nothing be owing to us, all his goods shall go to the use of the dead, saving to his wife and children their reasonable parts.

XXI. None of our Constables, nor other our Bailiffs, shall take corn, nor other the goods of any person, who may not be of the village where his castle is, without paying for the same presently, unless he have time given him by consent of the vendor.

XXII. Our Constables shall restrain no man who holds by knight-service, to give money for Castle-guard, if he has performed it himself in proper person, or by another good man, if he could not perform it himself for some reasonable cause: and if we lead him, or send him into the army, he shall be discharged of Castle-guard for so long time as he shall be with us in the army.

XXIII. No Viscount, Bailiff of our or other, shall take the horses or carts of any to make carriage, unless he pays according to the antient liberty, to wit, for a cart and two horses ten pence per day, and for a cart and three horses fourteen pence per day.

XXIV. Neither ourselves nor our Bailiffs shall take another man's wood for our castles, or other occasions, but by his leave whose wood it is.

XXV. We will hold the lands of such as shall be convicted of felony but a year and a day, and then we will restore them to the Lords of the fees.

XXVI. All wears shall, for this time forward, be wholly taken away in the Avenlich * and throughout all Ireland, except upon the sea-coast.

XXVII. The writ called *precipe* henceforth shall be made to none out of any tenement, whereby a freeman may lose his court.

XXVIII. One measure of wine shall be used throughout our kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, to wit, the London quart. And there shall be one breadth of dyed cloths, ruffets, and haubergets, to wit, two ells within the lists : and concerning weights, it shall be in like manner as of measures.

XXIX. Nothing shall be given or taken henceforth for a writ of inquisition of life or member, but it shall be granted freely and shall not be denied.

XXX. If any hold of us by fee-farm, or by soccage, and hold likewise land of others by knight-service, we will not have the custody of the heir, nor of the land which is of the fee of another, by reason of such fee-farm, soccage, or bur-gage, unless such fee-farm owe knight-service.

XXXI. No Bailiff for the time to come shall put any man to his law upon his bare word, without good witnesses produced.

XXXII. No freeman shall be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized, nor out-lawed, nor exiled, nor destroyed in any manner ; nor will we pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XXXIII. We will sell none, we will deny nor delay to none right and justice.

XXXIV. All merchants may, with safety and security, go out of Ireland, and come into Ireland, and stay, and pass through Ireland by land and water, to buy and sell without any evil tolls, paying the ancient and rightful duties, except in time of war ; and then if they are of the country with whom we are at war, and are found here at the beginning of the war, they shall be attached, but without injury to their bodies or goods, till it be known to us or to our Chief Justice, how our merchants are entreated which are found in our ene-

* River Liffey.

mies country; and if our's be safe there, they shall be safe in our Land.

XXXV. If any hold of an escheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boloin, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hand, and are baronies, and die, his heirs shall owe to us no other relief, nor do us any other service, than was due to the baron of such barony when it was in his hand; and we will hold the same in like manner as the baron held it.

XXXVI. Men that dwell out of the forest, shall not appear before our justices of the forest by common summons, unless they be in suit themselves, or bail for others who are attached for the forest.

XXXVII. All that have founded Abbies, whereof they have charters from the kings of England, or ancient tenure, shall have the custody thereof whilst they are vacant, as they ought to have.

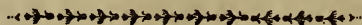
XXXVIII. All the forests that have been afforested in our time, shall instantly be disafforested; in like manner be it of rivers, that in our time and by us have been put in defence.

XXXIX. None shall be taken nor imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than her husband.

XL. Likewise all those customs and liberties, which we grant in our said kingdom, to be held as far as to us belongs towards all our said kingdom, clericks as well as laicks, that they may conserve the same, as far as to them belongs towards theirs.

XLI. But because certain chapters contained in the former charter, may appear heavy and doubtful, to wit, concerning escuages, aids of assessing debts of Jews, and others, liberty of going out of our said kingdom, and returning into our said kingdom, forests and foresters, warrens and warrenners, customs of counties, rivers and their keepers, as they may seem fit to the aforesaid prelates and great men, until we shall have these things examined in a more full council, and then we will make more fully, as well what concerns these things, as others that may hereafter occur to be amended; and whatever shall pertain to the common utility of all, and the peace, and our state, and of our kingdom. And because that we have not yet a seal, we cause this present charter to be sealed, with the seals of our venerable father saint Martin, Lord of Gaul, &c. and William Marischal, Earl of Pembroke our rector, and of our kingdom we cause to be sealed. The

witnesſes are the perſons above named and many others; given by the hand of the aforeſaid Lord Legate, and William Marſhal at Briſtol, 12th day of November in the firſt year of our reign.



Soon after the Bill of Rights had passed in England, the following heads of a similar one, for this kingdom, were presented for transmission by our parliament to Lord Capel, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, on the 14th of October, 1695, of which no more was heard.

HEADS of a BILL of RIGHTS.

I. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

II. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by legal authority, as hath been assumed or exercised, is illegal.

III. That levying money for, or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.

IV. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, or the chief governor, or governors of this kingdom, for the time being, and all commitments or prosecutions, or threats for such petition, are illegal.

V. That the subjects which are protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

VI. That the elections of member of parliament ought to be free.

VII. That the freedom of speech, and debates on proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached, or questioned, in any place out of parliament.

VIII. That juries ought to be duly impannelled and returned; and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason, ought to be freeholders.

IX. That all grants and promises, fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.

X. That for redress of all grievances in this kingdom, and for amending, strengthening and preserving the laws, parliaments ought not to be dissolved, as they have been in the late reigns.

XI. That the free quartering of soldiers on any of this kingdom, in time of peace, is arbitrary and illegal.

The

The following Extract from a curious Record in the *Calender of Ancient Characters*, will best explain itself.

EDWARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, venerabili in Christo patri M. eadem gratiâ Archiepiscopo Ardmachono salutem :

Cum alias oneravimus dilectum & fidelem nostrum Nicholaum Dagworth militem, nuncium nostrum versus terram nostram Hiberniæ per nos transmissum, quod ipse in quodam Parlamento in terra nostra prædicta, prætextu literarum nostrarum, dilecto & fideli nostro Willielmi de Wyndesore gubernatori & custodi dictæ terræ nostræ transmissarum, convocando, inter cætera in quadam indentura inter nos & dictum nuncium nostrum confecta, contenta, Prælati, Magnatibus, & Communibus terræ nostræ prædictæ, ad dictum Parliamentum comparentibus, exponi faceret, quod cum nos, tam excessivas & intolerabiles expensas, circa guerras nostras in terra nostra prædicta, pro salvatione & defensione ejusdem, quales ante hæc tempora apposuimus, propter maximam effusionem expensarum quas circa guerras nostras aliunde necessario nos opponere oportebit, de cætero supportare minime valeamus; iidem Prælati, Magnates & Communes et eorum quilibet, juxta facultates suas & status sui exigentiam, partem rationabilem hujusmodi expensarum super se capere recusarent, tunc dictus nuncius noster ipsos ex parte nostra oneraret, quod quilibet Episcopus duas personas ecclesiasticas idoneas protestatem sufficientem pro se & clero suæ diocesis, per literas procuratorias ab ipsis episcopo & clero, ac communes cujuslibet comitatus dictæ terræ, duas personas laicas protestatem sufficientem tam pro seipsis, quam Magnatibus ejusdem comitatus, ac Cives & Burgenses cujuslibet Civitatis & Burgi ejusdem terræ, duos Cives & duos Burgenses potestatem sufficientem pro se, & Civibus & Burgensibus civitatum & burgorum prædictorum habentes, versus nos & consilium nostrum in Anglia, ad tractandum, consulendum & concordandum nobiscum, tam super gubernatione dictæ terræ, quam pro auxilio & sustentatione guerræ nostræ ibidem transmitterent. Et licet idem nuncius noster, præmissa omnia & singula Prælati, Magnatibus & Communibus in Parlamento nostro apud Kilkenni. in octabis Sancti Michaelis proximis præteritis, ex causis præmissis summonito & tento, comparentibus, exposuerit, & ipsos in forma prædicta oneraverit; ipsi tamen se per eorum insufficientiam excusarunt, quod aliquam partem sumptuum & expensarum, pro guerris nostris ibidem manutenendis, ad præsens

præsens nequeant suppo^rtare: ob quod, hujusmodi personas versus nos in Angliam, ex causis prædictis, in forma supradicta, transmitti volentes, vobis mandamus, quod convocato coram vobis Clero vestræ diocesis, duas personas ecclesiasticas hujusmodi potestatem pro vobis & dicto clero vestro optinentes, de assensu ejusdem cleri eligi, & coram nobis, & dicto consilio nostro in Anglia ad sumptus vestros, & dicti cleri vestri, citra quindenam purificationis beatæ Mariæ proxim' futur', ubicunque tunc fuerimus in Anglia, ad tractandum, consulendum & concordandum, ut prædictum est, transmitti faciatis, nobis in cancellaria nostra Hiberniæ, de nominibus dictarum duarum personarum, sic per vos eligendarum, citra festum Sanctæ Katerniæ virginis prox' futur', ubicunque tunc fuerit sub sigillo vestro certificantes, hoc breve nobis tunc ibidem remittentes & hoc sub pœna centum librarum de vobis & dicto clero vestro, ad opus nostrum levandarum, nullatenus omittatis.

Teste Willielmo de Wyndesore gubernatore & custode terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, apud Kilkenn. xxv. die Octobris, anno regni nostri Angliæ quadragesimo nono, regni vero nostri Franciæ tricesimo sexto.



TRANSLATION.

Edward by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to the venerable father in Christ, M. by the same grace Archbishop of Armagh, greeting.

WHEN otherwise we charged our faithful and beloved Nicholas Dagworth, Knight, our Nuncio by us transmitted towards our land of Ireland, that he in a certain parliament assembled, in our land aforesaid under the pretext of our transmitted letters, to our faithful and beloved William de Wyndesford, governor and keeper of our said land, among other things exhibited a certain indenture made and contained between us and our said Nuncio, to the Prelates, Nobles, and Commons of our aforesaid land, at the same parliament assembled, shewing the excessive and intolerable expences of our wars, heretofore in our land aforesaid, for the salvation and defence of the same, and which on account of the greatest effusion of the expences of our wars elsewhere, we are no longer able to sustain; that the Prelates, Nobles, Commons, and each of them, as far as in their power, grant a reasonable part

part of the expences, for the sustenance of our said war, and for the salvation of our aforesaid land; and if the said Prelates, Nobles, and Commons, should refuse to take on themselves any reasonable part of the expence for the sustenance of the war there, and salvation of the aforesaid land, then our said Nuncio on our part shall inform them, that every Bishop shall have sufficient power for himself and the clergy of his diocese, by letters of procuration from the Bishop and clergy themselves, to transmit two ecclesiastical persons to us and our council in England, to treat, consult, and determine with us, as well for the aid and government of our said land, as the sustenance of our war there. And the Commons of every county of the aforesaid land, shall have sufficient power for themselves, as the Nobles of said county, to send two lay persons for the same purpose, and the citizens and burghesses of every city and borough, two citizens, and two burghesses, &c. And although our same Nuncio, premised all and singular these things to our Prelates, Nobles, and Commons in our parliament at Kilkenny, in the eighth of St. Michael next past, summoned and held for the premised causes, nevertheless they excused themselves through insufficiency, and at present deny to support any part of the costs and the expences of said war to be maintained in our said land there, on account of which, and for the causes abovesaid, we will, that such persons aforesaid, in the form aforesaid, be transmitted to us into England. And we command you that you convocate yourselves before the clergy of your diocese, choosing for yourselves and your clergy, two ecclesiastical persons, to be elected by the assent of the same clergy, and before us, and our said council of England, at your costs, to appear, and your said clergy within the fifth of the purification of the blessed Virgin next coming wheresoever we shall then be in England, to treat, consult, and agree, as is above said, that ye cause to be transmitted for us to our Chancellor of Ireland, the names of the aforesaid two persons, by you thus chosen, within the feast of the Holy Virgin St. Kathrine, whensoever it shall then be, certified under your seal, under the penalty of one hundred pounds from you, and your said clergy, to be levied for our use, on every such omission, &c.

Witness, William de Wyndesore, governor and keeper of our said land of Ireland, at Kilkenny, the 25th day of October, in the year of our reign of England forty-nine, but in our reign of France, thirty-six.

We

We have the answers of the Archbishop of Armagh, and of the county of Dublin, to this summons, distinctly recorded *.

“ We are not bound,” said the Prelate, “ agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws and customs of the church and land of Ireland, to elect any of our clergy, and to send them to any part of England, for the purpose of holding parliaments or councils in England. Yet, on account of our reverence to our Lord the King of England, and the now imminent necessity of the land aforesaid, saving to us and to the Lords and Commons of the said land, all rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs before mentioned, we have elected representatives to repair to the King in England, to treat and consult with him and his Council. Except, however, that we do by no means grant to our said representatives any power of assenting to any burdens or subsidies to be imposed on us or our clergy, to which we cannot yield by reason of our poverty and daily expence in defending the land against the Irish enemy.”

In like manner we find the county of Dublin at first electing their representatives without power or authority to consent to the imposition of any burdens; the Nobles and Commons “ unanimously with one voice declaring, that according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws and customs of the land of Ireland, enjoyed from the time of the conquest of said land, they are not bound to send any persons from the land of Ireland to the parliament or council of our Lord the King in England, to treat, consult, or agree with our Lord the King in England, as the writ requires. Notwithstanding, on account of their reverence, and the necessity and present distress of the said land, they have elected representatives to repair to the King, and to treat and consult with him and his Council; reserving to themselves the power of yielding or agreeing to any subsidies.” At the same time protesting, “ that their present compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the rights, privileges, laws, and customs, which the Lords and Commons, from the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland, have enjoyed, in consideration of the various burdens which the said Lords and Commons have borne, and still do bear, and which for the future they cannot support—*nisi Dominus Rex manum suam melius apponere voluerit.*”

* MS. Rawlinson.

In 13 year of King Edward I. the statutes of Westminster anno 3 of Gloucester, an. 6 and of merchants, and Westminster 2. an. 13 of his reign, were by his command sent to his chief justice in Ireland, to be there proclaimed and observed, as this one memorandum in the clause roll of that year assures us.

Memorandum, quod die Veneris in festo exaltacionis sanctæ crucis, anno, &c. 13 apud Wynton. liberata fuerunt Rogero Bretun Clerico venerabilis patris W. Waterfordenses episcopi tunc Justic. Hibern. quædam statuta per regem et consilium suum edita et provisa, viz. statuta * Westm. statim post coronationem edita, et statuta Glouc. et statuta pro mercatoribus facta, ac statuta Westm. † in Parlamento regis Pasch. anno prædicto provisa et facta, in Heibern. deferenda, et ibidem proclamanda et observanda.

Cl. 13. Ed. 1. dorso m. 5. De Statutis leboratis.

Writs for free commerce between England and Ireland, as common one to another, 253. Raym. 4 Instit.

Richard II. made a voyage to this kingdom, the particulars of which Howe, the English historian thus relates.

Now somewhat of the former voyage of King Richard into Ireland, as the same was reported to Sir John Froisart, by an Esquire of England, named Henry Christall. Sir John (quoth he) it is not in memory, that ever any King of England made such provision for any journey into Ireland, nor such a number of men of armes nor archers. The King was a nine moneths in the marshes of Ireland to his great cost, and charge to the realme, for they bare all his expences: and the marchant-cities, and good townes of the realm thought it well bestowed, when they saw the King returne home againe with honour. The number that hee had thither, were foure thousand men of armes, and thirty thousand archers, well payed weekly. But to shew the truth, Ireland is one of the cuill countries of the world to make warre upon or to bring under subiection, for it is closed strongly and wildly with high forrests, and great waters and marishes. It is hard to enter to doe any of the country any damage: nor yee shall find no towne, nor person to speak withall. For the men draw to the woods, and dwell in caues or small cottages, under trees and among bushes, like wild and sauage beasts: and when they know that any man maketh warre against them, being

* Westm. 1. 3. Ed. 1.

† Westm. 2.

entred into their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages to defend them, so that no man can enter into them. And when they see their time they will soone take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country, and are light people. For a man of armes, being neuer so well horsed, and runne he neuer so fast, the Irishmen will run on foote as fast as hee, and ouertake him, yea, and leape up upon his horse behinde him, and throw him from his horse; for they are strong men in their armes, and haue sharpe weapons with large blades, two edged, wherewith they will slay their enemy, whom they neuer repute to be dead till they haue cut his throat, and opened his belly, and taken out his heart, which they carry away with them, some say they eate it, and haue great delight therein: they take no man to ransom. And when they see that they be ouer-matched, then they will depart and hide themselves in bushes, woods, and caues, so that no man shall finde them: Sir William Windfore, who had most vsed the warres in those parts of any other Englishman, could neuer learne the manner of the countrey. They be hard people, and of rude wit: and they set nothing by iollity, nor fresh apparell, nor by noblesse, for though their country be soueraignly governed by Kings, whereof they haue many, yet will they abide and continue in their rudenesse.

Truth it is, that 4 of the principall Kings, and most puissant after the manner of the countrey, are come to the obedience of the king of England, by loue and faire meanes, and not by battell, or constraint. The Earl of Ormond, who marcheth upon them, hath taken great paine, and hath so intreated them, that they came to Dubline, to the King, and submitted them to him, to be under the obedience of the crowne of England, wherefore the King and all the realme reputeth this for a great and honourable act. For King Edward did never so much upon them, as King Richard did in his voyage. The honour is great, but the profite is but small, &c. The names of the foure Kings were these; first, the greates Oneale King of Meth, the second Otrine of Thomond, King of Thomond, the third Arthur of Mackquemur King of Leinster, the fourth Ocomor King of Theuenes and Drape, they were made Knights by King Richard in the cathedral church of Dubline: these foure Kings watched all the night before in the church, and the next day at high masse time, were made Knights, and with them Sir Thomas Orpew, Sir Iames Pado, and Sir Iohn Pado, his cousin.

These

These Kings fate that day at the table with King Richard, they were regarded of many people, because their behaviour was strange to the manor of England.

When Sir John Froisart desired to know how it came to passe, that foure Kings of Ireland were so soone brought to the obeyfance of King Richard, when King Edward the King's grand-father, who was so valient a Prince, could neuer subdue them: Sir Henry Christall answered, he could not tell, but as men said, the great puissance that the King had over with him, and remaining there nine moneths, abashed the Irishmen. Also the sea was closed from them on all parts, wheréby their marchandises might not enter into their countries, though they that dwell farre within the realme cared little for it, yet such as live on the marches of England and by the sea coast, vse feare of merchandise.

King Edward in his time, had to answer so many warres in France, Britaine, Gascoigne, and Scotland, that his people were divided in divers places, wherefore he could not send any great number into Ireland. But when the Irishmen saw the great number of men of warre that King Richard had in this last iourney, they aduised themselves, and came to obeyfance.



In thes Articles folowing been comprised the Kyng's Will, Determination, Commandement, and Plesures, upon the Parliaments holdyn late at the Naase and Drogheda; and upon the Parliament that shall be now next holdyn within his lands of Irland. Anno 1418, 19 Ed. IV. Rot. clauf.

WHERE as have been gret variences of late in our said land of Irland upon two parliaments ther last holdyn; the oen at the Naase, the other at Drogheda, whether of theym should be of auctorite; we have thereupon taken suche directions as folowith:

Furst, We consider that in the said two parliaments were communed and concludet principaly two acts, the oen touchyng the grauntes of certayn subsidies for the wele and defence of our said land, the secund concerned resumptions aswell of offices as of our revenue.

As touching the subsidies graunted in our parliament holdyn at Drogheda, for as moche as we understand, that it was graunted, and also in gret part, as we ben enformed,
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leueed for the wele and defence abovesaid, We will that the same graunts with all that thereto apperteyneth be gode and effectuell, and also auctorised by the parliament in our said land now next to be holdyn.

As touching the acts of resumptions in eather of the said parliaments passed, which of partialte and malice been, and have been more hurtyng to our subjects ther than to us or the wele of our said land profitable; we will that the same acts be maad void and of none effect in the lawe, except the resumption of offices and Chauncellership and Tresoreship, made in the parliament holdyn at Drogheda, the which we will that hit stand in his force and effect. Considering that thereuppon, we have made the Bishop of Meth, our Chanfeler, and Sir Rouland Eustace, Knyght, our Tresorer there; and we will, that a general act of resumption fro the furst day of Kyng Herry the VIte, be had and made in the next parliament touching our revenue; and that such provision be made upon the same by our Depute Lieutenant there according to our plesure; which our plesure we have shewed to our right trusty and welbeloved cosyn Therle of Kyldare, whom we have ordened to be Depute Lieutenant, and to the reverend father in God the Bishop of Mythe, whom we have ordeyned as is above said to be our Chanfeler.

As touching the resumpcion of offices, forasmuche as offices of Chanfeler and other in the Deputies commysion to us oonly reserved, we will that the offices of Chief of the Exchequer and the Maister of our mint there be resumed in this same parliament, and our leters patents be mad there uppon under our gret seall there, to those persons to whom we have made our grauntes upon the same.

And as to other offices to us in the said commysion not reserved, we be contented that such of theym be resumed, and they for the wele of us and our said land, by our said Depute Lieutennant so disposed, as shall be thought by him mooste expedient.

We will also, that at thys said parliament be resumed the office of Seneschallie of the liberte of Methe, with the fees, wages, and rewards therfor by us, or otherwise to any person graunted, and so to remayn in our hands at our pleasure. We will also, that if any act have be made to the prejudice of us, and in derogacion of our Corone in restreynning of tonnage and pondage, it be utterly revoked and annulled, and in this parliament the old graunt thereof renewed

velled and established, as shall be best for our right, wele and honor.

Item, the Kyng willeth, That such an act as herto before hath be made in the land there restreyning, that noe man within that land shall be called out of the said land by any precept or commandement, made under the Kyng's grete seall, prive seall or signet in England, be utterly revoked and adnulled.

Item, The Kyng willeth, that upon resumption of the Kyng's revenues to be made in this parliament, the townes of Divelyn * and Drogheda be providet fore al suche grauntes as have ben made unto they by the Kyng's auctorite, his progenitours or predocestours, so that they promise to be redy to doo the Kyng service, at suche tymes as by the Kyng's Lieutenant or his depute they shall be designed.

Thes articles folouying conteyne, the Kyng's commandements and plesere, how his Chanselere of Irland, Clerc of the Rolles, and the Clerk of the Hanaper ther, shall demene them there in executyng of ther offices.

Furst, They and everithe of them, shall well and trewly serve the Kyng and his liege peple of the same land, in the doying of their offices.

Item, That they ne none of them shall assent to the hurt, damage, or alienacion of the Kyng's lands, revenues, or rights; but they shall endevoer them selfe for the vauncyng and encrefying therof, and lette all them to the best of their powere, that wold attempt the contrary therof.

Item, That the sead Chaunseler do serv alweyes in suche place and tymes as the Clerc of the Rolles, the Clerc of the Hanaper, and other ministers of the Chaunsery, may be ther and then present.

Item, That the said Chaunseller do delyvre to the Clerc of the Rolles, all such warrants cummyng to his hands, so as he may kepe them as the Kyng's recordes, according to his office.

Item, That the said Chaunseller seke no pardon under the grete seale, unto any man upon his provisiōe from the court of Rome, without the King's knowlege and consent.

Item, The Chaunseller in person, shall in true time make his abidyng in the place wher the Kyng's Courts be kept, unleshe ther by a great and urgent cause, by the depute with the advise of the more part of the Kyng's Consele, it be thought his absence to be allowed.

Item,

* Dublin.

Item, That the Clerc of the Rolles do enroll all patents under the Kyng's grete seall, before that they be deliveret to the parties, and kepe so the Kyng's records, that none of them be rased, ne besoiled.

Item, That he see and write at every sele, what profits growith unto the Kyng thereof, and the specialtees of the same; so that his boke so made may be a controullment upon the accompts of the Clerc of the Hanaper, to be made yerly in the Kyng's Eschequer there.

Item, That no lyvere be made to the Kyng's tennant, nor yet restitution to be made to any Bishop, Abbot, or Prior, without that the Kyng be furst answered of his duete, accordyng to the rate of the tyme that the landes have ben in the Kyng's handes.

Item, That the Clerc of the Hanapier continueley receive the fees of the sele of writts, commissiions and patents; and also, all suche fynes as shall be made in the Chauncery, and thereupon pay the Chaunceller his fees, wages, and rewards accustomed, and deliver the remenant unto the Kyng's Eschequer upon his accompts, which he shall make yerly therof; and to thentent that noone ignorance may be pretendit, what fines ben to be made them within the Kyng's Chauncery, the specialties of them hereafter ensueth.

All writs of covenant, every assise and writs in nature, assise and other writts of entry aboye the value of 40s. unto the value of 5 marks,	l. s. d.
	o 6 8

Every special assise, be hit ever so litell, it maketh a fyne, and <i>streitly</i> , every 5 marks,	o 6 8
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Every formedonne above 40s. unto 8 marks,	o 6 8
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Every pone of Justices, pone of writts of right, every writt of conspirici, writts of atteynte, and writts of false judgment, the fine,	o 6 8
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Every recordan of dett or trespassse, and every dedimus potestatem upon a writt of covenant,	o 6 8
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Every writt of dett or trispasse, exceeding the some value or prise of 40l. unto the some of 60l.	o 6 8
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Also an attachments of the privilege of dett or trispasse according to the same, and if hit exceeds more to pay more.

All respite of homage 6s. 8d. or mark after the quantite of the lveled; all oyer and determinor at the suit of the partie, *if gretter trispasse the grett fyne*. All manner of licence to purchase temperell lveled to mortmayne the first yere value of the same. All manner licence of spirituall livlihood, as appropriaciery of churches or of benefices, spirituall
of

of holy church, four yere value of the same. All maner licence of alienacion by the Kyng's tenannt, the third part of the value thereof. All pardons of alienacions made by the Kyng's tenaunt, the value of a hole yere. All maner licence of marriage of the Kyng's widdows, the third part of their dower. All manner of confirmacions of offices, the third part or fourth part of the value thereof, by the yere. All confirmacions of libertees and franchisees, the third part, or the fourthe part of the profits or value of the same franchisees. All patents of devysing the third part of the value of his goods. All pardons of the Kyng's widdowes married without licence, the value of her dower by the year.

Item, That the Clerc of the Kyng's Hanaper, leave for him a depute in the court of the Kyng's Bench, another in the court of the Common Place, which shall receive for the Kyng all the profitcs growing of the Kyng's fele in either of the said courts, and thereupon, shall yeld his accompt in the Kyng's Eschequer.

Here folowyth the Kyng's comanndements and plesure, to be shewed unto Sir Rouland Eustace, Knyght, whom his Highnesse hath deputed to be Tresorer of his land of Irland.

Furst, The said Sir Rouland, shall well and trewly behave hym in the occupieng of his said office, and justely and rightously exercise it, as well betwix the Kyng and his subjects, as betwix the Kyng's subjects.

Item, He shall not assent nore agre to the hurt, dammage, or disheretyng the Kyng of his lands, revenues, rights, regalie or prerogatifs, but in all that hym is, he shall uphold, mayntene, encrease and avaunce them.

Item, That the said Sir Rouland continually endeavour himself, that the Kyng be yerely answered of all such revenues and rights, as shall belong unto his highnes within his land of Irland, and that he do send unto the Kyng's goode grace yerly, a trew and pleyn vews thereof, comprysing the particulers and specialtees of the same.

Item, That the same Sir Rouland remytte and forgete all malice and evill will that he hath borne and berith to the Bishop of Mythe, Bermyngham, the Justice, and all other the Kyng's subjects within the said land; for the Kyng's highnesse hath comaundet them in semblable wise to do toward hym. Also the King vol that he delivre his grete fele, beyng in his kepyng, unto the said Bishop of Mythe, whom he hath deputed and made to be his Chaunceller of his said land of Irland.

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Item, That the said Sir Rouland kepe the appointment by the Kyng, taken betwix hym and Sir Robert Eustace in thes articles folouyng, beth comprised the Kyng's comaundments and plesere, to be executed and accomplished by his Juges and Barons of the Eschequer within his land of Irland.

Furst, That this and every of them, duely and trewly have them as well towards the Kyng's highenesse as towards his subiects, in executyng and doyng of their offices, and after their cunyng and discrecion, justely and indefferently minister justice to all the Kyng's subiects in theese parties.

Item, That nether thei ne eny of them, assent nor agree to the hurtyng or damagyng of any suche revenues, en his laws, prerogatifs, rights or interest to the Kyng in any wise belongyng, but that thei and everith of theym endeavour theym to their power to the avauncing and encrecyng thereof.

Item, That they and everith of them, employ them as effectually as they can, that all fines, amerciaments, and all other issues and profits, shall or ought righturly to grow within the Kyng's levity, whom they have or shall have administration of justice, be truely and duely cessed and ordered; and that thereof a due comptes be made yerly in the Kyng's Eschequer ther, so that their fees, wages and rewards, may be paiet and contented of the same, as farre as it shall stretche unto.

Item, In caas that eny variences growe amongst the Kyng's subiects in thes parties, which God defends, whereby the Kyng or the comen wele of his land ther by eny liklyod shold be hurted, that thei endeavour themself to the best of ther power, to appoyse those variences, and that suche direction be taken therupon as shall best acorde to reson, and to the wele of the Kyng, and of his said land of Irland.

Item, That the Juges of both the places, aid, assiste, and favoir, such persons as the Clerke of the Hanaper shall depute for hym ther, for the recevyng of profitos of the Kyng's feles within the same places, so that the Kyng may be thereby answered thereof, as he ought to be.

In the articles folouyng ben comprised the Kyng's plesure, howe and in what forme Gerard Therle, of Kildare, depute unto his Lieutenant, shall be demeaned in the peerceising of his office of the said depute, within his land of Irland.

Furst, The seid Erl shall wel and trewly serve the Kyng as depute to his Lieutenant of Irland, in all and every thing comprised in his commission.

Item,

Item, He shall to the uttermost of his power, defend the Kyng's lands and his subjects within the said land, against the Kyng's rebels and Irish ennemyes.

Item, He shall not assent to the hurt, damage, or alienation of the Kyng's lands, revenues, or rights within that land, but to the best of his power, avance and encreas them, and hold all those that wold attempt to do the contrary.

Item, He shall not pardon thentre of any of the Kyng's tennants upon the Kyng's possession, nor yet graunt to deny them licence without a reasonable fyne.

Item, He shall graunt no pardon to any man upon his provision purchased or to be purchased from the court of Rome, ne therof he shall addresse no warrant unto the Chaunceler, without the Kyng's knowleche and assent.

Item, He shall favor, aide and assiste all the Kyng's officers within the same land, in the doing of their offices, and resist all therein that would maliciously attempt agens them for the doying of the same.

Item. He shall effectually endeavour himself; that Sir Rouland Eustace deliver unto the Bishop of Methe, whom the Kyng hath deputed to be his Chaunceler of the same land, the Kyng's grete fele.

Item, In neo parliament to be holdyn hereafter ther shall no subsidie be axed, ne graunted in the same upon the commounes ne levied but once in a yere, which shall not excede the extent of 1200 marks, as hath been accustomed.

Item, That noo thing that is or shall be commowned and concluded in Counsele, be taken in strenth as an act of Counsele, unless the Kyng's Lieutenant or his depute give his assent thereunto, by the advis of the more part of the Kyng's Counsele there, that is to say, the Chanselor, the Tresorer, the Kyng's Chief Justys, the Chief Baron of the Kyng's Eschequer, the Clerc of the Rolls, the Kyng's Serjant.

Item, The Kyng will also, that the Maister of the Mint, work his cuniage oonly in the Castle of Divilin.

Item, That in the same cuinage touching the fynesse, it be according to the standart of England, and that an unce of sillver of that fynesse be coyned 4s. 8d. whereof to the merchant 4s. 2d. to the Kyng, the Maister of the Mynt, for hym, the odyr officers, and the Coyners 6d.

Item, That all and every of the peces to be coyned, ber a notable difference on eyther side; on the cross side a rose, and upon the pile side, a notable difference of the Kyng easy to be known to every body, accordyng to suche prints as ben delivered unto the Maister of the Mynt here.

* Such parliaments as have been held in Ireland, and such Acts as have been made in them since that year in the reigns of King Henry VI. Edward IV. Henry VII. VIII. Philip and Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, and what else concerns the parliament of Ireland, their summons, members, privileges, jurisdictions, proceeding, acts and settling of the English laws, government, statutes in that realm, you may peruse at leisure in the statutes of Ireland, published by Mr. Richard Bolton, Dublin, 1621, especially 25 Henry VI. c. 28. An act that the Lords of parliament in pleas shall not be amerced, otherwise than other persons; 3 Edward IV. c. 5. An act whereby the Lords and Commons of parliament shall have privilege for forty days before and after the parliament; 15 Edward IV. c. 2. An act concerning the choosing of knights and burgesses of parliament; 10 Henry VII. c. 4. That no parliament be holden in this land, until the acts be certified into England; c. 16. An act declaring the effect of Poyning's act; 33 Henry VIII. c. 1. An act declaring how Poyning's act shall be expounded; 4 Philip and Mary, An act authorising statutes to be made in this parliament notwithstanding Poyning's act; 11 Elizabeth, sessi. 2. An act that there be no bill certified into England, for the repeal or suspension of Poyning's act, before the same be first argued upon in a session of parliament holden in this realm.

Prefuming that the foregoing references relative to Poyning's act will be perused, I shall adjoin what Hume says on this subject.

The King's (Henry VII.) authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrollable in Ireland; Sir Edward Poyning had been sent over with some troops into that country, with an intention of quelling the partizans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection: he was not supported with forces sufficient for that important enterprise. The Irish, by flying into their woods, morasses, and mountains, in some measure eluded his efforts: but Poyning summoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute all the former laws of England, were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it previously receives the sanction of the council of England. This latter law seems calculated for ensuring the dominion of the English over Ireland; but was really granted at the desire of the Irish commons, who proposed, by that means, to secure themselves from the tyranny of the Lords, particularly of such Lieutenants as were of Irish birth †.

* Pryn, 4. inst.

† Sir J. Davies.

I comenow to consider our Commercial Restrictions, which I find already so happily enumerated, in a work intitl'd "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered, in a series of letters to a noble lord," that I shall take the freedom with the judicious writer of giving his first letter entire, and the facts, &c. chiefly of the rest.

FIRST LETTER.

MY LORD,

Dublin, 20th Aug. 1779.

YOU desire my thoughts on the affairs of Ireland; a subject little considered, and consequently not understood in England. The Lords and Commons of Great Britain have address'd his Majesty to take the distressed and impoverished state of this country into consideration; have called for information, and resolv'd to pursue effectual methods for promoting the common strength, wealth and commerce of both kingdoms; and his Majesty has been pleas'd to express, in his speech from the throne, his entire approbation of their attention to the present state of Ireland.

The occasion calls for the assistance of every friend to the British empire: those who can give material information are bound to communicate it. The attempt however is full of difficulty; it will require more than ordinary caution to write with such moderation as not to offend the prejudices of one country, and with such freedom as not to wound the feelings of the other.

The present state of Ireland teems with every circumstance of national poverty. Whatever the land produces is greatly reduced in its value: wool is fallen one half in its usual price; wheat one third; black cattle of all kinds in the same proportion, and hides in a much greater: buyers are not had without difficulty at those low rates, and from the principal fairs men commonly return with the commodities they brought there: rents are every where reduced, in many places it is impossible to collect them: the farmers are all distressed, and many of them have fail'd: when leases expire, tenants are not easily found: the landlord is often oblig'd to take his lands into his own hands, for want of bidders at reasonable rents, and finds his estate fallen one fourth in its
f value.

value. The merchant justly complains that all business is at a stand, that he cannot discount his bills, and that neither money nor paper circulates. In this and the last year, above twenty thousand manufacturers, in this metropolis were reduced to beggary for want of employment; they were for a considerable length of time supported by alms; a part of the contribution came from England, and this assistance was much wanting from the general distress of all ranks of people in this country. Public and private credit are annihilated: parliament, that always raises money in Ireland on easy terms, when there is any to be borrowed in the country, in 1778 gave 7½l. per cent. in annuities, which in 1773 and 1775 were earnestly sought after at 6l. then thought to be a very high rate. The expences of a country, nearly bankrupt, must be inconsiderable; almost every branch of the revenue has fallen; and the receipts in the treasury for the two years, ending lady-day, 1779, were less than those for the two years, ending lady-day, 1777, deducting the sums received on account of loans in each period, in a sum of 334,900l. 18s. 9½d: there was due on the 25th of March last, on the establishments, and for extraordinary expences, an arrear amounting to 373,706l. 13s. 6½d.: a sum of 600,000l. will probably be now wanting, to supply the deficiencies on the establishments and extraordinary charges of government: and an annual sum of between 50 and 60,000l. yearly, to pay interest and annuities: in the last session 466,000l. was borrowed; if the sum wanting could now be raised, the debt would be increased in a sum of above 1,000,000l. in less than three years, and if the expences and the revenues should continue the same as in the last two years, there is a probability of an annual deficiency of 300,000l. The nation in the last two years has not been able to pay for its own defence; a militia law, passed in the last session, could not be carried into execution for want of money. Instead of having forces abroad*, Ireland has not been able in this year to pay the forces kept in the kingdom: it has again relapsed into its ancient state of imbecility, and Great Britain has been lately obliged to send over money to pay the army † which defends this impoverished country.

* On account of the inability of Ireland, Great Britain since Christmas, 1778, relieved her from the burthen of paying forces abroad.

† A sum of 50,000l. has been lately sent from England for that purpose.

Our distress and poverty are of the utmost notoriety; the proof does not depend solely upon calculation or estimate, it is palpable in every public and private transaction, and is deeply felt among all orders of our people.

This kingdom has been long declining. The annual deficiency of its revenues, for the payment of public expences, has been, for many years, supplied by borrowing. The American rebellion, which considerably diminished the demand for our linens; an embargo on provisions continued for three years *, and highly injurious to our victualing trade; the increasing drain of remittances to England for rents, salaries, profits of offices, pensions and interest, and for the payment of forces abroad, have made the decline more rapid, but have not occasioned it.

If we determine to investigate the truth, we must assign a more radical cause: when the human or political body is unsound or infirm, it is in vain to inquire what accidental circumstances appear to have occasioned those maladies which arise from the constitution itself.

If in a period of fourscore years of profound internal peace, any country shall appear to have often experienced the extremes of poverty and distress; if at the times of her greatest supposed affluence and prosperity, the slightest causes have been sufficient to obstruct her progress, to annihilate her credit, and to spread dejection and dismay among all ranks of her people; and if such a country is blessed with a temperate climate and fruitful soil, abounds with excellent harbours and great rivers, with the necessaries of life and materials of manufacture, and is inhabited by a race of men, brave, active, and intelligent, some permanent cause of such disastrous effects must be sought for.

If your vessel is frequently in danger of foundering in the midst of a calm; if by the smallest addition of sail she is near oversetting, let the gale be ever so steady, you would neither reproach the crew, nor accuse the pilot or the master; you would look to the construction of the vessel, and see how she had been originally framed, and whether any new

* By a proclamation, dated the 3d of February, 1776, on all ships and vessels, laden in any of the ports in this kingdom, with provisions of any kind, but not to extend to ships carrying salted beef, pork, butter and bacon into Great Britain, or provisions to any part of the British Empire, except the colonies mentioned in the said proclamation. 4th of January, 1779, taken off as far as it relates to ships carrying provisions to any of the ports of Europe.

works had been added to her, that retard or endanger her course.

But for such an examination more time and attention are necessary than have been usually bestowed upon this subject in Great Britain; and as I have now the honour to address a person of rank and station in that kingdom on the affairs of Ireland, I should be brief in my first audience, or I may happen never to obtain the favour of a second.

I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.

SECOND LETTER.

MY LORD,

Dublin, 23d August, 1779.

FROM the time that king James the first had established a regular administration of justice in every part of the kingdom, until the rebellion of 1641, which takes in a period of between thirty and forty years, the growth of Ireland was considerable *. In the act recognizing the title of king James, the Lords and Commons acknowledge “that many blessings “and benefits had, within these few years past, been poured “upon this realm †;” and at the end of the parliament in 1615, the commons return thanks for the extraordinary pains taken for the good of this republic, whereby they say “we “all of us sit under our own vines, and the whole realm “reapeth the happy fruits of peace ‡.” In his reign the little that could be given by the people, was given with general consent §: and received with extraordinary marks of royal favour; he desires the lord-deputy to return them thanks for their subsidy, and for their granting it with universal consent ||; and to assure them that he holds his subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of his other kingdoms; and that he will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing state, as for his own person.

* Its tranquility was so well established in 1611, that king James reduced his army in Ireland to 176 horse, 1450 foot. Additional judges were appointed; circuits established throughout the kingdom, 2d Cox, 17; and Sir John Davis observes, that no nation under the sun loves equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish. Davis, p. 184, 196.

† 13 Jac. ch. i.

§ Ib. 61.

‡ Vol. Com. Journ. p. 92.

|| Ib. p. 88.

Davis mentions the prosperous state of the country, and that the revenue of the crown, both certain and casual, had been raised to a double proportion. He takes notice how this was effected, "by the encouragement given to the maritime towns and cities, as well to increase the trade of merchandise, as to cherish mechanical arts;" and mentions the consequence, "that the strings of the Irish harps were all "in tune."

In the succeeding reign, Ireland for fourteen or fifteen years appears to have greatly advanced in prosperity. The commons granted in the session of 1634, six entire subsidies, which they agreed should amount in the collection to 250,000*l.**; and the free gifts previously given to king Charles the first, at different times, amounted to 310,000*l.*†; in the session of 1630, they gave four entire subsidies, and the clergy eight; the customs which had been framed at 500*l.* yearly, in the beginning of this reign, were in the progress of it set for 54,000*l.*

The commodities exported were twice as much in value, as the foreign merchandize imported, and shipping is said to have increased an hundred fold §. Their parliament was encouraged to frame laws conducive to the happiness and prosperity of themselves and their posterities, for the enacting and "consummating" whereof the king passes his royal word; and assures his subjects of Ireland that they were equally of as much respect and dearness to him as any others †.

In the speaker's speech in 1639, enumerating the national blessings, he mentions as one, "that our in-gates and out-gates do stand open for trade and traffic**" and as the lord chancellor declared his excellency's "high liking of this oration," it may be considered as a fair account of the condition of Ireland at that time. When the commons had afterwards caught the infection of the times, and were little disposed to pay compliments, they acknowledge, that this kingdom, when the earl of Stratford obtained the government, "was "in a flourishing, wealthy and happy estate ††.

After the restoration, from the time that the acts of settlement and explanation had been fully carried into execu-

* Cox's Hist. of Ireland, 2 Vol. 61.

† Some of these subsidies, from the subsequent times of confusion, were not raised.

§ Lord Stafford's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 297.

† Leland's Hist. of Ireland, 3d Vol. 41.

** Ir. Com. Jour. 1st Vol. p. 228, 229.

†† Lord Clarendon. Cox, ib. Ir. Com. Journ. 1 Vol. p. 280, 311.

tion, to the year 1688, Ireland made great advances, and continued, for several years, in a most prosperous condition*. Lands were every where improved; rents were doubled; the kingdom abounded with money; trade flourished to the envy of our neighbours; cities encreased exceedingly; many places of the kingdom equalled the improvements of England; the king's revenue increased proportionably to the advance of the kingdom, which was every day growing, and was *well established in plenty and wealth*†; manufactures were set on foot in divers parts; the meanest inhabitants were at once enriched and civilized: and this kingdom is then represented to be the most improved and improving spot of ground in Europe. I repeat the words of persons of high rank, great character and superior knowledge, who could not be deceived themselves, and were incapable of deceiving others.

James, the first duke of Ormond, whose memory should be ever revered by every friend of Ireland, to heal the wound that this country had received by the prohibition of the export of her cattle to England, obtained from Charles the Second a letter‡, dated, the 23d of March, 1667, by which he directed that all restraints upon the exportation of commodities, of the growth or manufacture of Ireland, to foreign parts, should be taken off, but not to interfere with the plantation laws, or the charters to the trading companies, and that this should be notified to his subjects of this kingdom; which was accordingly done by a proclamation from the lord lieutenant and council; and at the same time by his majesty's permission, they prohibited the importation from Scotland of linen, woollen, and other manufactures and commodities, as drawing large sums of money out of Ireland, and a great hindrance to its manufactures. His grace successfully executed his scheme of national improvement, having by his own constant attention, the exertion of his extensive influence, and the most princely munificence, greatly advanced the woollen, and

* Archbishop King, In his state of the protestants of Ireland, p. 52, 53, 445, 446. Lord Chief Justice Keating's address to James the Second, and his letter to Sir John Temple, *ib.*

The prohibition of the exportation of our cattle to England, though a great, was but a temporary distress; and in its consequences greatly promoted the general welfare of this country.

† Lord Sydney's words in his speech from the throne, in 1692, from his own former knowledge of this country. *Ir. Com. Journ.* 2d Vol. p. 577.

‡ Carte, 2 Vol. p. 342, 344.

revived * the linen manufactures, which England then encouraged in this kingdom, as a compensation for the loss of that trade of which she had been deprived; this encouragement, from that time to the revolution, had greatly increased the wealth, and promoted the improvement of Ireland.

The tyranny and persecuting policy of James the second † after his arrival in Ireland, ruined its trade and revenue; the many great oppressions which the people suffered during the revolution had occasioned almost the *utter desolation* of the country. § But the nation must have been restored in the reign of William to a considerable degree of strength and vigour: their exertions in raising supplies to a great amount, from the year 1692 to the year 1698, are some proof of it. They taxed their goods, their lands, their persons, in support of a prince whom they justly called their deliverer and defender, and of a government on which their own preservation depended. Those sums were granted ||, not only without murmur, but with the utmost cheerfulness, and without any complaint of the inability, or representation of the distressed state of the country.

The money brought in for the army at the revolution, gave life to all business, and much sooner than could have been expected retrieved the affairs of Ireland. This money furnished capitals for carrying on the manufactures of this kingdom. Our exports increased in 96, 97 and 98, and our imports did not rise in proportion, which occasioned a great balance in our favour; and this increase was owing principally to the woollen manufacture. In the last of those years the ballance in favour of Ireland in the accounts of exports and imports was 419,442l. **.

But in the latter end of this reign a law was made in England, restraining, in fact prohibiting the exportation of all woollen manufactures from Ireland. From the time of this prohibition no parliament was held in Ireland until the year 1703. Five years were suffered to pass before any opportunity was

* Lord Strafford laid the foundation of the linen manufacture in Ireland, but the troubles which soon after broke out had entirely stopped the progress of it.

† Harris's life of K. W. 116.

§ The Words of Lord Sydney, in his speech from the throne in 1692. Com. Jour. 2 Vol 576.

|| Ir. Com. Jour. 3 Vol. 45 and 65, that great supplies were given during this period.

** Dobbs, p. 5, 6, 7, 19.

given to apply a remedy to the many evils which such a prohibition must necessarily have occasioned. The linen trade was then not thoroughly established in Ireland; the woollen manufacture was the staple trade, and wool the principal material of that kingdom. The consequences of this prohibition appeared in the session of 1703*.

In an address to the queen †, laid before the duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant, by the house with its speaker, they mention the distressed condition of that kingdom, and more especially of the industrious protestants, by the almost total loss of trade and decay of their manufactures, and to preserve the country from utter ruin, apply for liberty to export their linen manufactures to the plantations.

In a subsequent part of this session ‡, the commons resolve, that by reason of the great decay of trade and discouragement of the manufactures of this kingdom, many poor tradesmen were reduced to extreme want and beggary. This resolution was nem. con. and the speaker, Mr. Broderick, then his majesty's solicitor general, and afterwards lord chancellor, in his speech at the end of the session §, informs the lord lieutenant, that the representation of the commons was, as to the matters contained in it, the unanimous voice and consent of a very full house, and that the soft and gentle terms used by the commons in laying the distressed condition of the kingdom before his majesty, shewed that their complaints proceeded not from querulousness but from a necessity of seeking redress; he adds, "it is to be hoped they may be allowed such a portion of trade, that they may recover from the great poverty they now lie under;" and in presenting the bill of supply says, the commons have granted it "in time of extreme poverty." The impoverished state of Ireland, at that time, appears in the speech from the throne at the conclusion of the session, in which it is mentioned that the commons could not then provide for what was owing to the civil and military lists**.

The supply given for two years, commenced at Michaelmas 1703 ††, was a sum not exceeding 150,000*l.* which, considering that no parliament was held in Ireland since the year 1698, is at the rate of 30,000*l.* yearly, commencing in 1699, and ending in the year 1705.

* Com. Jour. 3 Vol. 45.

§ Ib. 207, 208.

† Com. Jour. 3 Vol. p. 149.

** Ib. p. 210.

‡ Ir. Com. Jour. 3 Vol. p. 195.

†† Ib. 79, 94.

The great distress of Ireland, from the year 1699, to the year 1703, and the cause of that distress, cannot be doubted.

Let it now be considered, whether the same cause has operated since the year 1703. In the year 1704* it appears, that the commons were not able, from the circumstances of the nation at that time, to make provision for repairing the necessary fortifications; or for arms and amunition for the public safety: and the difficulties which the kingdom then laboured under, and the decay of trade, appear by the addresses of the commons† to the queen, and to the duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant, who was well acquainted with the state of this country; by the queen's answer‡, and the address of thanks for it.

In the year 1707§, the revenue was deficient for payment of the army, and defraying the charges of government; and the commons promised to supply the deficiency "as far as the present circumstances of the nation will allow."

In 1709, it appears** by the unanimous address of the commons to the lord lieutenant, that the kingdom was in an impoverished and exhausted state: in 1711††, in their address to the lord lieutenant, at the close of the session, they request, that he should present to her majesty, that they had given all the supplies which her majesty desired, and which they, in their present condition, were able to grant‡‡: and yet these supplies amounted, for two years, to a sum not exceeding 167,023l. 8s. 5d §§; though powder magazines, the council chamber, the treasury office, and other offices were then to be built.

This last period, from the year 1699 to the death of queen Anne, is marked with the strongest circumstances of national distress and despondency.

That the woollen manufactures were the great source of industry in Ireland, appears from the Irish statute of the 17th and 18th of Charles II. ch. 15***; from the resolutions of the commons in 1695†††, for regulating those manufactures; the resolutions of the committee of supply in that session‡‡‡;

* Com. Jour. 3 Vol. p. 298.

† Ib. 225, 266.

‡ Ib. 253, 258.

§ Ib. 364, 368, 369.

** Ib. 3 Vol. p. 573.

†† Ib. 827.

‡‡ Ib. 929.

§§ Ib. 876.

*** In the same session an act was made for the advancement of the linen manufacture, which shews that both kingdoms then thought (for these laws came to us through England) that each of these manufactures was to be encouraged in Ireland.

††† Ir. Com. Jour. 2 Vol. p. 725.

‡‡‡ Ib. 733.

I HISTORICAL FACTS

and from the preamble to the English statute of the 10th and 11th of William III. ch. 10, in which it is recited, that great quantities of those manufactures were made, and were daily-increasing in Ireland, and were exported from thence to foreign markets.

Of the exportation of all those manufactures the Irish were at once totally deprived: the linen manufacture, proposed as a substitute, must have required the attention of many years before it could be thoroughly established. What must have been the consequences to Ireland in the mean time, the journals of the commons in queen Anne's reign have informed us. Compare this period with the three former, and you will prove this melancholy truth; that a country will sooner recover from the miseries and devastation occasioned by war, invasion, rebellion, massacre, than from laws restraining the commerce, discouraging the manufactures, fettering the industry, and above all, breaking the spirits of the people.

T H I R D L E T T E R.

TO an inquirer after truth, history since the year 1699 furnishes very imperfect, and often partial views of the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland. The journals of parliament evince the poverty of Ireland for the first fourteen years of this century. That this poverty continued in the year 1716; appears by the unanimous address of the house of commons to George the first*. A small debt of 16,106l. 11s. 0½d. †, due at Michaelmas 1715, was, by their exertions to strengthen the hands of government in that year, increased at midsummer 1717, to a sum of 91,537l. 17s. 1d. ‡, which was considered as such an augmentation of the national debt, that the lord lieutenant, the duke of Bolton, thought it necessary to take notice in his speech from the throne, that the debt was considerably augmented, and to declare at the same time that his majesty had ordered reductions in the military, and had thought proper to lessen the civil list.

In 1721, the speech from the throne§, and the addresses to the king and to the lord lieutenant, state, in the strongest

* Com. Jour. 4 Vol. p. 249,

† Ib. 335.

‡ Ib. 296.

§ Ib. 694, 700, 701.

terms,

terms, the great decay of her trade, and the very low and impoverished state to which she was reduced.

It is a melancholy proof of the desponding state of this kingdom, that no law whatever was then proposed for encouraging trade or manufactures, unless that for amending the laws as to butter and tallow casks deserves to be so called. The remedy proposed by government, and partly executed, by directing a commission under the great seal for receiving voluntary subscriptions *, in order to establish a bank, was a scheme to circulate paper without money; and considering that it came so soon after the south sea bubble had burst, it is more surprising that it should have been at first applauded †, than that it was in the same session disliked, censured and abandoned ‡. The total inefficacy of the remedy proved however the inveteracy of the disease, and furnishes a farther proof of the desperate situation of Ireland, when nothing could be thought of for its relief, but that paper should circulate without money, trade or manufactures.

In the following session of 1727, our manufacturers, and the lowest classes of our people, were greatly distressed; the duke of Grafton, in his speech from the throne, particularly recommends to their consideration the finding out of some method for the better employing of the poor §; and though the debt of the nation was no more than 66,3 8l. 8s. 3½d. || and was less than in the last session; yet the commons thought it necessary to present an address to the king, to give such directions as he, in his great goodness should think proper, to prevent the increase of the debt of the nation. This address was presented ** by the house, with its speaker, and passed nem. con. and was occasioned by the distressed state of the country, and by their apprehensions that it might be further exhausted by the project of Woods' half-pence.

But notwithstanding the success of the linen manufacture, Ireland was in a most miserable condition. The great scarcity of corn had been so universal in this kingdom in the years 1728 and 1729, as to expose thousands of families to the utmost necessities, and even to the danger of famine; many artificers and house-keepers having been obliged to beg for bread in the streets of Dublin. It appeared before the house of commons, that the import of corn for one year and six months, ending the 29th day of September, 1729, amounted

* Ir. Com. Jour. 4 Vol. p. 694.

† Ib. 832.

** Ib. 108.

‡ Ib. 720.

§ Ib. 5 vol. p. 12.

|| Ib. 102.

in value to the sum of 274,000*l.* an amazing sum compared with the circumstances of the kingdom at that time! and the commons resolve that public granaries would greatly contribute to the increasing of tillage, and providing against such wants as have frequently befallen the people of this kingdom, and hereafter may befall them, unless proper precautions shall be taken against so great a calamity.

The great scarcity which happened in the years 28 and 29, and frequently before and since, is a decisive proof that the distresses of this kingdom have been occasioned by the discouragement of manufactures.

In the year 1731 there was a great deficiency in the public revenue, and the national debt had considerably increased. The exhausted kingdom lay under great difficulties by the decay of trade, the scarcity of money, and the universal poverty of the country, which the speaker represents * in very affecting terms, in offering the money-bills for the royal assent, and adds, “ that the commons hope from his majesty’s “ goodness, and his grace’s free and impartial representation “ of the state and condition of this kingdom, that they may “ enjoy a share of the blessings of public tranquillity, by “ the increase of their trade, and the encouragement of their “ manufactures.”

But in the next session, of 1733, they are told in the speech from the throne what this share was to be. The lord lieutenant informs them, that the peace cannot fail of contributing to their welfare, by enabling them to improve those branches of trade and manufactures † which are properly their own, meaning the trade and manufacture of linen. Whether this idea of property has been preserved inviolate, will hereafter appear.

The years 40 and 41 were seasons of great scarcity, and in consequence of the want of wholesome provisions, great numbers of our people perished miserably; and the speech from the throne recommends it to both houses, to consider of proper measures to prevent the like calamity for the future. The employment of the poor and the encouragement of tillage, are the remedies proposed by the lord lieutenant, and approved of by the commons; but no laws for those purposes were introduced.

* *Ir. Com. Jour.* 6 Vol. p. 143. † *Ib.* 189.

For above forty years after making those restrictive laws * Ireland was always poor, and often in great want, distress and misery †, tho' the linen manufacture had made great progress during that time. In the war before the last, she was not able to give any assistance. The duke of Devonshire, in the year 1741, takes notice from the throne, that during a war for the protection of the trade of all his majesty's dominions, there had been no increase of the charge of the establishment; and in the year 1745 the country was so little able to bear expence, that lord Chesterfield discouraged and prevented any augmentation of the army, tho' much desired by many gentlemen of the house of commons, from a sense of the great danger that then impended. An influx of money after the peace, and the further success of the linen trade, increased our wealth, and enabled us to reduce by degrees, and afterwards to discharge the national debt. This was not effected until the first of March 1754. This debt was occasioned principally by the expences incurred by the rebellion in Great Britain in the year 1715; an unlimited vote of credit was then given ‡. From the lowness of the revenue, and the want of resources, not from any further exertions on the part of the kingdom in point of expence, the debt of 16,106l. 11s. 0½d. due in 1715, was increased at Lady Day, 1733, to 37,312l. 12s. 2½d.

After the payment of this debt, the wealth and ability of Ireland were greatly over-rated, both here and in Great Britain.

A large redundancy of money in the treasury, gave a delusive appearance of national wealth. At Lady Day, 1755, the sum credited to the nation was 471,404l. 5s. 6½d§, and the money remaining in the treasury of the ordinary unappropriated revenue on the 29th day of September, 1755, 457,959l. 12s. 7½d. But this great increase of revenue arose from an increase of imports, particularly in the year 1754, by which the kingdom was greatly overstocked, and which raised the revenue in that year 208,309l. 19s. 2d. higher than it was in the year 1748, when the revenue first began to rise considerably ||; and though what a nation spends is one method of estimating its wealth; yet, a nation, like an

* The act intitled an act for better regulation of partnerships, and to encourage the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, has not a word relative to the latter part of the title.

† Com. Jour. 6 Vol. 694; 7 Vol. 742. ‡ Ib. 4 Vol. p. 195.

§ 9 Vol. p. 35.

|| Ib. 10 Vol. p. 751.

individual,

individual, may live beyond its means, and spend on credit which may far exceed its income. This was the fact as to Ireland in the year 1754, for some years before and for many years after; it appeared in an enquiry before the house of commons in the session of 1755, that many persons had circulated paper to a very great amount, far exceeding not only their own capitals*, but that just proportion which the quantity of paper ought to bear to the national specie. This gave credit to many individuals, who without property became merchant importers, and at the same time increased the receipts of the treasury and lessened the wealth of the kingdom. At the very time that so great a balance was in the treasury, public credit was in a very low way, and the house of commons was employed in preparing a law to restore it. In 54 and 55 three principal banks† had failed, and the legislature took up much time in enquiring into their affairs, and in framing laws for the relief of their creditors.

L E T T E R IV.

THE revenue, for the reasons already given, decreased in 1755, fell lower in 1756, and still lower in 57. In the last year the vaunted prosperity of Ireland was changed into misery and distress; the lower classes of our people wanted food‡; the money arising from the extravagance of the rich was freely applied to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. One of the first steps of the late duke of Bedford's administration, and which reflects honour on his memory, was obtaining a king's letter, dated 31st March, 1757, for 20,000*l.* to be laid out as his grace should think the most likely to afford the most speedy and effectual relief to his majesty's poor subjects of this kingdom. His grace, in his speech from the throne, humanely expresses his wish, that some method might be found out to prevent the calamities that are the consequences of a want of corn, which had been in part felt the last year, and to which this country had been too often exposed; the commons acknowledge that those calamities had

* Com. Jour. 9 Vol. p. 318.

† March 6, 1754, Thomas Dillon, and Richard Ferral, failed. 3d March, 1755, William Lennox and George French. Same day John Wilcocks and John Dawson.

‡ Com. Jour. 10 Vol. p. 16. Speech from the throne, and *ib.* 25, address from the house of commons to the king.

been frequently, and were too sensibly and fatally experienced in the course of the last year; thank his grace for his early and charitable attention to the necessities of the poor of this country in their late distresses, and make use of those remarkable expressions, "that they will most cheerfully embrace * every practicable method to promote tillage †." They knew that the encouragement of manufactures were the effectual means, and that these means were not in their power.

The ability of the nation was estimated by the money in the treasury, and the pensions on the civil establishment, exclusive of French, which at Lady-day, 1755, were 38,003l. 15s. od. amounted at Lady-day, 57, to 49,293l. 15s. od ‡.

The same ideas were entertained of the resources of this country in the session of 1759. Great Britain had made extraordinary efforts, and engaged in enormous expences for the protection of the whole empire. This country was in immediate danger of an invasion. Every Irishman was agreed that she should assist Great Britain to the utmost of her ability, but this ability was too highly estimated. The nation abounded rather in loyalty than in wealth §. Our brethren in Great Britain had, however, formed a different opinion, and surveying their own strength, were incomplete judges of our weakness. A lord lieutenant of too much virtue and magnanimity to speak what he did not think, takes notice from the throne, "of the prosperous state of this country, "improving daily in its manufactures and commerce ¶." His grace had done much to bring it to that state, by obtaining for us some of the best laws ** in our books of statutes. But this part of the speech was not taken notice of, either in the address to his majesty, or to his grace, from a house of commons well-disposed to give every mark of duty and respect, and to pay every compliment consisting with truth. The event proved the wisdom of their reserve. The public expences were greatly increased, the pensions on the civil establishment, exclusive of French, at Lady-day, 1759, amounted

* Com. Jour. 10 Vol. 25.

† They brought in a law for the encouragement of tillage, which was ineffectual (see post 42) but the preamble of that act is a legislative proof of the unhappy condition of the poor of this country before that time. The preamble recites, "the extreme necessity to which the poor of this kingdom had been too frequently reduced for want of provisions."

‡ Com. Jour. 10 Vol. 285.

§ 11 Vol. 472, Speaker's speech. ¶ Ib. 16.

** The acts passed in 58, giving bounties on the land-carriage of corn, and on coals brought to Dublin.

to 55,497l. 5s. od.* there was at the same time a great augmentation of military expence †. Six new regiments and a troop were raised in a very short space of time. An unanimous and unlimited address of confidence to his grace ‡, a specific vote of credit for 150,000l. §, which was afterwards provided for in the loan-bill ¶ of that session; a second vote of credit in the same session for 300,000l. **, the raising the rate of interest paid by government, one per cent. and the payment out of the treasury †† in little more than one year, of 703,957l. 3s. 1½d. ‡‡ were the consequences of those increased expences. The effects of these exertions were immediately and severely felt by the kingdom. These loans could not be supplied by a poor country, without draining the bankers of their cash; three of the principal houses §§ among them stopped payment; the three remaining banks in Dublin discounted no paper, and in fact, did no business. Public and private credit, that had been drooping since the year 1754, had now fallen prostrate. At a general meeting of the merchants of Dublin, in April 1760, with several members of the house of commons, the inability of the former to carry on business was universally acknowledged, not from the want of capital, but from the stoppage of all paper circulation, and the refusal of the remaining bankers to discount the bills even of the first houses. The merchants and traders of Dublin, in their petition || to the house of commons, represent “ the low state to which
 “ public and private credit had been of late reduced in this
 “ kingdom, and particularly in this city, of which the suc-
 “ cessive failures of so many banks, and of private traders in
 “ different parts of this kingdom, in so short a time as since
 “ October last, were incontestable proofs. The petitioners,
 “ sensible that the necessary consequences of these misfortunes
 “ must be the loss of foreign trade, the diminution of his ma-
 “ jesty’s revenue, and what is still more fatal, the decay of
 “ the manufactures of this kingdom, have in vain repeatedly
 “ attempted to support the sinking credit of the nation by as-
 “ sociations and otherwise; and are satisfied that no resource
 “ is now left but what may be expected from the wisdom of
 “ parliament, to avert the calamities with which this king-
 “ dom is at present threatened.”

* Com. Jour. 11 Vol. p. 212. † Ib. from 826, to 837.

‡ Ib. p. 141. § Ib. 408. ¶ Ib. 473.

** Ib. 862. †† Ib. 982, from 25th of March 59, to 21st of April 60, exclusive.

§§ Clements’s, Dawson’s, and Mitchell’s.

|| Com. Jour. 11 Vol. 966. April 15. 1760.

The committee, to whom it was referred, resolve* that they had proved the several matters alledged in their petition; that the quantity of paper circulating was not near sufficient for supporting the trade and manufactures of this kingdom; and that the house should engage, to the first of May 62, for each of the then subsisting banks in Dublin, to the amount of 50,000*l.* for each bank; and that an address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, to thank his grace for having given directions, that bankers notes should be received as cash from the several subscribers to the loan; and that he would be pleased to give directions, that their notes should be taken as cash in all payments at the treasury, and by the several collectors for the city and county of Dublin. The house agreed to those resolutions, and to that for giving credit to the banks, *nem. con.*

The speech from the throne takes notice of the care the house of commons had taken for establishing public credit, which the lord lieutenant says, he flatters himself will answer the end proposed, and effect that circulation so necessary for carrying on the commerce of the country†.

The great law which we owe to his interposition (I speak of that which gives a bounty on the land carriage of corn and flour to Dublin‡) has saved this country from utter destruction; this law, which reflects the highest honour on the author and promoter, is still a proof of the poverty of that country where such a law is necessary. Its true principle is to bring the market of Dublin to the door of the farmer, and that was done in the year, ending the 25th of March, 1777, at the expence of 61,789*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* to the public; a large, but a most useful and necessary expenditure§.

In the beginning of the next parliament, the rupture with Spain occasioned a new augmentation of military expence. The ever loyal commons return an address of thanks to the message mentioning the addition of five new battalions||, and unanimously promise to provide for them; and with the same unanimity pass a vote of credit for 200,000*l.*** The amount of pensions on the civil establishment, exclusive of French, had for one year, ending the 25th of March, 1761, amounted to 64,127*l.* 5*s.* †† and our manufacturers were then

* Com. Jour. 11 Vol. p. 993, 994. † Ib. 1049.

‡ Brought in by Mr. Pery, the present Speaker.

§ In the year ending lady-day, 1778, it amounted to 71,533*l.* 1*s.* and in that ending lady-day, 1779, to 67,864*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

|| Com. Jour. 12 Vol. p. 700. ** Ib. 728. †† Ib. 443.

distressed by the expence and havock of a burthenfome war*.

The state of pensions remained nearly the same†; by the peace the military expences were considerably reduced; of the military establishment to be provided for in the session 1763, compared with the military establishment as it stood on the 31st of March, 1763, the net decrease was 119,037l. os. 10d. per annum; but as a peace establishment it was high, and compared with that of the 31st of March, 1756‡ being the year preceding the last war, the annual increase was 110,422l. 9s. 5d. the debt of the nation at Lady-day 1763, and which was entirely incurred in the last war, was 521,161l. 16s 6d §. and would have been much greater, if the several lord lieutenants had not used with great œconomy the power of borrowing, which the house of commons had from session to session given them.

The same mistaken estimate of the ability of Ireland, that occasioned our being called upon to bear part of the British burthen during the war, produced similar effects at the time of the peace, and after it. The heavy peace establishment was increased by an augmentation of our army in 1769, which induced an additional charge, taking in the expences of exchange and remittance, of 54,118l. 12s. 6d. yearly, for the first year; but this charge was afterwards considerably increased, and amounted from the year 1769, to Christmas 1778, when it was discontinued, to the sum of 620,824l. os. 9d. and this increased expence was more felt, because it was for the purpose of paying forces out of this kingdom.

As our expences increased our income diminished; the revenue for the two years, ending the 25th of March, 1771 ||, was far short of former years, and not nearly sufficient to pay the charges of government, and the sums payable for bounties and public works**. The debt of the nation at lady-day, 1771, was increased to 782,320l. os. 0d ††. The want of income was endeavouring to be supplied by a loan. In the money-bill of the October session, 1771, there was a clause empowering government to borrow 200,000l. Immediately

* Com. Jour. 929, Speech of Lord Hallifax from the throne, 30th of April, 1762.

† For a year ending 25th March, 1763, they were 66,477l. 5s.; they afterwards rose to 89,095l. 17s. 6d. in September 1777 at the highest; and in this year, ending the 25th of March last, amounted to 85,971l. 2s. 6d.

‡ Com. Jour. 13 Vol. p. 576. § Ib. 574. 621.

|| Ib. 14 Vol. 715. ** Ib. 15 Vol. 710. †† Ib. 153.

after the linen trade declined rapidly; in 1772, 1773, and 1774, the decay in that trade was general in every part of the kingdom where it was established; the quantity manufactured was not above two-thirds of what used formerly to be made, and the quality did not sell for above three-fourths of its former price; the linen and linen yarn exported for one year, ending the 25th of March, 1773 *, fell short of the exports of one year, ending the 25th of March 1771, to the amount in value of 788,821*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* At lady-day, 1773 †, the debt increased to 994,890*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* 1-8th. The attempt in the session of 1773 ‡, to equalize the annual income and expences failed, and borrowing on tontine in the sessions of 1773, 1775 and 1777, added greatly to the annual expence, and to the sums of money remitted out of the kingdom. The debt now bearing interest amounts to the sum of 1,017,600*l.* besides a sum of 740,000*l.* raised on annuities, which amount to 48,900*l.* yearly, with some incidental expences. The great increase of those national burdens, likely to take place in the approaching session, has been already mentioned.

The debt of Ireland has arisen from the following causes: the expences of the late war, the heavy peace establishment in the year 1763, the increase of that establishment in the year 1769, the sums paid from 1759 to forces out of the kingdom, the great increase of pensions and other additional charges on the civil establishment, which however considerable, bears but a small proportion to the increased military expences, the falling of the revenue, and the sums paid for bounties and public works; these are mentioned last, because it is apprehended that they have not operated to increase this debt in so great a degree as some persons have imagined; for though the amount is large, yet no part of the money was sent out of the kingdom, and several of the grants were for useful purposes, some of which made returns to the public and to the treasury exceeding the amount of those grants.

When those facts are considered, no doubt can be entertained but that the supposed wealth of Ireland has led to real poverty; and when it is known, that from the year 1751 to Christmas 1778, the sums remitted by Ireland to pay troops serving abroad, amounted to the sum of 1,401,925*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* it will be equally clear from whence this poverty has principally arisen.

* Com. Jour. 16 Vol. p. 372. † Ib. p. 192. 191, 193. ‡ Ib. 256.

In 1762, lord Hallifax, in his speech from the throne*, acknowledges that our manufactures were distressed by the war. In 1763, the corporation of weavers, by a petition to the house of commons, complain that, notwithstanding the great increase both in number and wealth of the inhabitants of the metropolis, they found a very great decay of several very valuable branches of trade and manufactures † of this city, particularly in the silken and woollen.

In 1765, there was so great a scarcity of potatoes, spring corn, &c. that it was thought necessary to appoint a committee ‡ to inquire what may be the best method to reduce it; and to prevent a great dearth, two acts passed early in that session, to stop the distillery, and to prevent the exportation of corn, for a limited time.

In 1778 and 1779 there was great plenty of corn, but the manufacturers were not able to buy, and many thousands of them were supported by charity; the consequence was that corn fell to so low a price that the farmers in many places were unable to pay their rents, and every where were under great difficulties.

F I F T H L E T T E R.

FOR several years the exportation of live cattle to England § was the principal trade of Ireland. This was thought most erroneously ||, as has since been acknowledged**, to lower the rents of lands in England. From this, and perhaps from some less worthy motive †† a law passed in England ‡‡, to restrain and afterwards to prohibit the exportation of cattle from Ireland. The Irish, deprived of their principal trade, and reduced to the utmost distress by this prohibition, had no

* Com. Jour. 12 Vol. p. 928.

† Ib. 13 Vol. p. 987.

‡ Ib. 14. Vol. p. 69, 114, 151.

§ Carte, 2 Vol. 318, 319.

|| Sir W. Petty's Political Survey, 69, 70. Sir W. Temple, 3 Vol. 22, 23.

** By several British acts (32 G. 2, ch. 11. 5 G. 3, ch. 10, 12. G. 3, ch. 56.) allowing from time to time the free importation of all sorts of cattle from Ireland.

†† Personal prejudice against the duke of Ormond. (2 Carte, 332, 337.

‡‡ 15 Ch. 2, ch. 7. 18 Ch. 2, ch. 2.

resource but to work up their own commodities, to which they applied themselves with great ardor *. After this prohibition they increased their number of sheep, and at the revolution were possessed of very numerous flocks. They had good reasons to think that this object of industry was not only left open, but recommended to them. The ineffectual attempt by lord Strafford in 1639, to prevent the making of broad cloaths in Ireland †, the relinquishment of that scheme by never afterwards receiving it, the encouragement given to their woollen manufactures by many English acts of parliament from the reign of Edward the 3d, ‡ to the 12th of Ch. 2d, and several of them for the express purpose of exportation; the letter of Charles the 2d, in 1667, with the advice of his privy council in England, and the proclamation in pursuance of that letter, encouraging the exportation of their manufactures to foreign countries; by the Irish statutes of the 13th Hen. 8, ch. 2, 28th Hen. 8, ch. 17, of the 11th Elizabeth, Ch. 10, and 17 and 18 Ch. 2, ch. 15, (all of which, the act of 28 Henry 8th excepted, received the approbation of the privy council of England, having been returned under the great seal of that kingdom) afforded as strong grounds of assurance as any country could possess for the continuance of any trade or manufacture.

An act, in its title, professes the encouraging the importation of wool from Ireland.

By a report from the commissioners of trade in that kingdom, dated on the 23d December 97, and laid before the house of commons, in 1698, they find that the woollen manufacture in Ireland had increased since the year 1665, as follows:

Years.	New draperies. Pieces.	Old draperies. Pieces.	Frize. Yards.
1665	224	32	444,381
1687	11,360	103	1,129,716
1696	4,413	34½	104,167

The bill for restraining the exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland, was brought into the English house of commons on the 23d of Feb. 97, but the law did not pass until the year 1699, in the first session of the new parliament. I have not been able to obtain an account of the exportation

* 2 Carte, 332.

† Com. Jour. 1 Vol. p. 208, by a clause to be inserted in an Irish act.

‡ See post, those acts stated.

of woollen manufactures for the year 1697*, but from the 25th of December 1697, to the 25th of December 1698, being the first year in which the exports in books extant, are registered in the custom-house at Dublin, the amount appears to be of

New drapery.	Old drapery.	Frize.
Pieces.	Pieces.	Yds.
23,285½	281h	666,901

Though this increase of export shews that the trade was advancing in Ireland, yet the total amount, or the comparative increase since 1687 could scarcely "sink the value of lands, "and tend to the ruin of the trade and woollen manufactures "of England †.

King William in his answer, says, "his majesty will take "care to do what their lordships have desired;" and the lords direct, that the lord chancellor should order that the address and answer be forthwith printed and published ‡.

Of what Ireland gains it is computed that one-third centers in Great Britain §. Of our woollen manufacture the greatest part of the profit would go directly there. But the manufacturers of Ireland would be employed.

Mr. Dobbs, who wrote in 1729||, affirms, that by this law of 1699, our woollen manufacturers were forced away into France, Germany and Spain; that they had in many branches so much improved the woollen manufacture of France, as not only to supply themselves, but to vie with the English in foreign markets, and that by their correspondence, they had laid the foundation of the running of wool thither both from England and Ireland. He says that those nations were then so improved, as in a great measure to supply themselves with

* In a pamphlet cited by Dr. Smith, (v. 2, p. 244) in his memoirs of wool, it is said that the total value of those manufactures exported in 1697, was 23,614l. 9s. 6d. namely, in frizes and stockings 14,625l. 12s; in old and new draperies 8,988l. 17s. 6d. and that though the Irish had been every year increasing, yet they had not recovered above one-third of the woollen trade which they had before the war (ib. 243). The value in 1687, according to the same authority, was 70,521l. 14s. of which the frizes were 56,481l. 16s. Stockings 2,520l. 18s. and old and new drapery (which it is there said could alone interfere with the English trade) 11,514l. 10s.

† Preamble of English act of 1699.

‡ Lords Jour. page 315.

§ Sir M. Decker's decline of foreign trade, p. 155, and Anderson on commerce, 2 vol. p. 149.

|| Essay on the trade of Ireland. p. 6, 7.

many

many sorts they formerly had from England, and since that time have deprived Britain of millions, instead of the thousands that Ireland might have made.

It is now acknowledged that the French undersel the English; and as far as they are supplied with Irish wool, the loss to the British empire is double what it would be, if the Irish exported their goods manufactured. This is mentioned by Sir Matthew Decker*, as the cause of the decline of the English, and the increase of the French woollen manufactures; and he asserts that the Irish can recover that trade out of their hands. England, since the passing this law, has got much less of our wool than before†. In 1698, the export of our wool to England amounted to 377,520 stone; at a medium of eight years, to lady-day 1728, it was only 227,049 stone, which is 148,000 stone less than in 1698, and was a loss of more than half a million yearly to England. In the last ten years the quantity exported has been so greatly reduced, that in one of these years‡ it amounted only to 1007ft. 11lb. and in the last year did not exceed 1665ft. 12lb.5. The price of wool, under an absolute prohibition, is 5ol. or 6ol. per cent. under the market price of Europe, which will always defeat the prohibition§.

The impracticability of preventing the pernicious practice of running wool is now well understood. Of the thirty-two counties in Ireland, nineteen are maritime, and the rest are washed by a number of fine rivers that empty themselves into the sea. Can such an extent of ocean, such a range of coasts, such a multitude of harbours, bays and creeks be effectually guarded?

The prohibition of the export of live cattle forced the Irish into the re-establishment of their woollen manufacture; and the restraint of the woollen manufacture was a strong temptation to the running of wool. The severest penalties were enacted, the British legislature, the government and house of commons of Ireland, exerted all possible efforts to remove this growing evil, but in vain, until the law was made in Great Britain** in 1739, to take off the duties from

* Decline of foreign trade, p. 55, 56, 155. † Dobbs, p. 76.

‡ In 1774.

§ Nor was this deficiency made up by the exportation of yarn. The quantities of these several articles exported from 1764 to 1778, are mentioned in the appendix, Numb.

|| Smith's Memoirs of Wool, 2 Vol. p. 554. The only way to prevent it, is to enable us to work it up at home. Ib. 293.

** This was done for the benefit of the woollen manufacture in England. Eng. Com. Jour. 22 Vol. p. 442.

woollen or bay yarn exported from Ireland, excepting worsted yarn of two or more threads, which has certainly given a considerable check to the running of wool, and has shewn that the policy of opening is far more efficacious than that of restraining. The world is become a great commercial society, exclude trade from one channel, and it seldom fails to find another.

To shew the absolute necessity of Great Britain's opening to Ireland some new means of acquiring, let the annual balance of exports and imports, returned from the entries in the different custom-houses, in favour of Ireland, on all her trade with the whole world, in every year from 1768 to 1778, be compared with the remittances made from Ireland to England in each of those years, it will evidently appear that those remittances could not be made out of that balance. The entries of exports made at custom-houses are well known to exceed the real amount of those exports in all countries, and this excess is greater in times of diffidence, when merchants wish to acquire credit by giving themselves the appearance of being great traders.

This balance in favour of Ireland on her general trade, appears by those returns to have been in 1776, 606,190l. 11s. 0d. in 1777, 24,203l. 3s. 10d. in 1778, 386,384l. 5s. 7d. and taken at a medium of eleven years, from 1768 to 1778, both inclusive, it amounts to the sum of 605,083l. 7s. 5d. The sums remitted from Ireland to Great-Britain for rents, interests of money, pensions, salaries, and profits of offices, amounted, at the lowest computation, from 1768 to 1773, to 100,000l. yearly*; and from 1773, when the tontines were introduced, from which period large sums were borrowed from England, those remittances were considerably increased, and are now not less than between 12 and 13,000l. yearly. Ireland then pays to Great-Britain double the sum that she collects from the whole world in all the trade which Great Britain allows her. It will be difficult to find a similar instance in the history of mankind.

What was the information given by the trading towns in 1697 and 1698, on the subject of the woollen manufacture of Ireland? several of their† petitions state that the woollen manufacture was *set up* in Ireland, as if it had been lately intro-

* This is stated considerably under the computation made in the list of absentees, published in Dublin in 1769, which makes the amount at that time 1,208,982l. 14s. 6d.

† Eng. Com. Jour. 12 Vol. 64, 68.

duced there; and one of them goes so far as to represent the time and manner of introducing it. “ Many of the poor of that kingdom (says this extraordinary petition) during the late rebellion there, fled into the West of England, where they were put to work in the woollen manufacture to learn that trade, and since the reduction of Ireland, endeavours were used to set up those manufacturers there.”

Would any man suppose that this could relate to a manufacture, in which this kingdom excelled before the time of Edward the 3d, which had been the subject of so many laws in both kingdoms, and which was always cultivated here, and before this rebellion with more success than after it? the trading towns gave accounts totally inconsistent of the state of this manufacture at that time in England: from Exeter it is represented as greatly decayed and discouraged * in those parts, and diminished in England. But a petition from Leeds represents this manufacture as having very much increased †, since the revolution in all its several branches, to the general interest of England; and yet, in two days after the clothiers from three towns in Gloucestershire assert, that the trade has decayed, and that the poor are almost starved ‡. The commissioners of trade differ in opinion from them, and by their report, it appears that the woollen manufacture was then very much increased and improved §. The traders have sometimes mistaken their own interests on those subjects; in 1698, a petition for prohibiting the importation from Ireland of all worsted and woollen yarn, represents that the poor of England are ready to perish by this importation ||; and in 1739, several petitions were preferred against taking off the duties ** from worsted and bay yarn exported from Ireland to England. But this has been done in the manner before-mentioned, and is now acknowledged to be highly useful to England. Trading people have ever aimed at exclusive privileges; of this there are two extraordinary instances; in the year 1698, two petitions were preferred, from Folkestone and Aldborough, stating a singular grievance that they suffered from Ireland, “ by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford ††, “ and sending them to the Streights, and thereby forestalling “ and ruining petitioners markets;” but these petitioners had the hard lot of having motions in their favour rejected.

* English Com. Jour. Vol. 12, p. 7.

† Ib. 527.

‡ Ib. 530.

§ Ib. 434.

|| Ib. 387.

** Ib, vol. 22.

†† Ib. 178.

It is hoped, many of the excellent observations contained in the remainder of these letters, will not appear improperly applied to the support of a few remarks suggested from a review of the foregoing pages.

In the mean time I shall lay the following letter before my readers, as no unpleasing picture to an Irishman of the consequence of his country.

LETTER II. of the justly esteemed OWEN ROE O'NIAL
To the Men of Ireland.

SUE quisque faber fortune est, is one of those truths which the experience of ages has handed down as a proverb.

What is true of every individual must be so of nations—
“ Their fortune must depend upon *themselves*.”

It is a truth well worthy the deep consideration of Ireland—I have, in my former letter, endeavoured to convince her by reasoning, and an appeal to historical facts, of what she should long ere this have learned from experience; that whatever justice or generosity exists among individuals, it is vain to look for it in the mutual intercourse of nations. Their principle is policy.

It is time for Ireland to take thought for herself.

That Ireland hath been, and is, subordinate to, and dependent on the imperial crown of Great Britain, and that the King's Majesty, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland *, is a truth too melancholy to admit contradiction. That it of right “ought” to be so, was reserved for the modesty and good sense of an English parliament to assert, and would therefore be a *blunder* in Irishmen to deny.

That no nation can by conquest, or by any other means, acquire a right of perpetual dominion over another; that no consent or contract, however express or solemn, can bind posterity to their injury; that no prescription or length of time can sanctify oppression; that little deference is due to names imposed by the oppressors upon the act of assuming rights unalienable in their nature, and only overborne by force, or overlooked by folly; these are propositions which I shall not attempt to enlarge upon. Time, with most minds, gives a sacredness to error: enquiry then bears the name of impiety: but the idols of one age are trampled under foot in another, and the prejudices which once required a Locke to remove, are in these days but themes to the schools.

* 6 Geo. I. c. 5.

I shall not then war with the dead; nor shall I offend the delicacy of an English Judge, by doubting the propriety, or disputing the omnipotence of an English act of parliament. That would be "to oppose my private Irish judgment to public English authority*." And, in so plain a case, the opposition "must be virulent and factious†." Authority must be ever in the right! The demand of Magna Charta was but a successful rebellion; the reformation was an impious defection from the church; and the author of Christianity was an heretic and a traitor! Ireland then, by right, ought to be, nay more, for ever must be, subordinate to the sovereign legislative parliament of Great Britain. I acknowledge it! my reason is a strong one; she thinks so herself; and who dare deny the competency of her judgment? She thinks herself formed by nature an humble attendant upon England. She crouches under what she calls necessity. Her loyalty dares not form a wish for the preservation of her crown in the house of Hanover, united with the separate independency of her own legislature: because she looks upon that wish as hopeless. The very thought to her seems madness! the attempt, she apprehends, would be ruin!

I owe a deference to the general opinion, and shall submit to it; yet, as all sound judgment on this question can only be built upon experience, it seems not unreasonable to enquire, were it but as matter of speculation, into the fate of other countries, which having been nearly in the same situation with Ireland, endeavoured to mend their condition. One advantage will certainly result from the enquiry, which cannot fail of proving acceptable to a people, who have hitherto appeared more delighted with their fears, than with any other feelings of the human heart. It will lead us, by the consideration of our superior resources, to estimate infallibly the quantum of national punishment, likely to be superadded to our present burdens, by our masters, the parliament of Great Britain, for the efforts of this day, when their leisure and security shall permit them to turn their thoughts to us. In proportion to our superior power of resisting, will the means be of preventing, in future, the possibility of the operation of such a resistance.

A late respectable writer (Guatimozin) has already enumerated the natural advantages of Ireland. It appears that

* 6 George I. ch. 5.

† See Blackstone's Comment. book 4, p. 50, Irish edition.

she possesses within herself, or immediately within her reach, almost every advantage that nature or situation can give, or that is necessary to make a nation rich, great, and happy.

A climate of the finest temperature; a soil of most extraordinary fertility; mines that encouragement might convert into sources of national industry and national superiority; seas that teem with fish; harbours numerous, safe, commodious, and well situated for commerce; and, to conclude, a people with capacity for every thing, and who want but leave to acquire habits of industry, as persevering as spirited.

These are the natural advantages of Ireland. How few nations can boast so many and so great? Compare her rank and consequence in the world, with what these advantages might entitle her to. Enquire then, whence arises the difference, and thank England, if you can, for the generosity of her protection!

Are either the United Provinces, or Switzerland, to be compared to Ireland in natural advantages? I cannot think they are. The former is but one-third, the latter only one-half her size. Ireland is an island, and such an one as I have described; rich in climate, soil, mines, and harbours. Switzerland is in the heart of the Continent, and is poor in all these,—the latter she cannot possess at all. The Dutch States are joined to the Continent; their shore is dangerous from its flats; does not afford them a single good harbour; and the frost binds up their commerce during a considerable part of the winter. I need not mention the fish which the lakes of Switzerland afford. The fisheries of Holland lie upon our coast. They enjoy more from their unchecked industry, than we from nature and the protection of England. The Dutch have no mines. The Swiss don't work theirs, except for their necessary instruments of war and agriculture. Neither Holland nor Switzerland produces corn for half their inhabitants. In the latter half the harvest produced by a stubborn soil is often destroyed by storms, and but part of the remainder is allowed by the climate to ripen.

The Swiss may be said to have neither commerce nor navigation, since the latter they have only on their lakes, the former is concerned wholly in necessities.

Of the timber of the Swiss I need not speak. They can have no navy, nor do they require one. As to Holland, the spongy produce of marshes is useless in trade or navigation. Her navy must be purchased by industry. Ireland may be as industrious as Holland, but she requires it less. She may
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raise a navy at home, if she cannot with more advantage bring marerials from abroad. The climate of Switzerland may make an hardy race of soldiers or husbandmen, but to a nation that would aim at more than a penurious existence, it cannot be a subject of envy. The climate of Holland, marthy in its soil, and intersected by so many stagnated canals, is not wholesome. Some of their towns are formed on the soil left by the stagnation of rivers. In others the solid foundations of the earth seemed to have forsaken them, and they laid new ones. The sea threatens to overwhelm them. They oppose it with mounds, which require a continual repair, and dream not of danger, though the failure of a bank would give them a second deluge.

Labour and industry are in Holland necessary. They cannot otherwise exist. This, it is true, will keep them laborious and industrious. But what they are from necessity, other nations may be from nobler motives; and Ireland sets out from a point which, in Holland, it required the labour and industry of years to gain.

Holland must be a drudge, as she subsists on the wants of other nations, and these, we know, are mostly artificial. She is their factor and carrier. She may suffer from their caprice. She must languish in their ill-humour. Their industry, or even frugality, would starve her. Ireland is more independent. She can subsist by her internal resources, though the world should refuse her either commerce or employment. She is rich in herself. Nature, that made her an island, and gave her fertility, qualified her equally for absolute independence, and unlimited intercourse with other nations. She can subsist without other nations. She can trade with them to mutual advantage.

Such are the natural advantages of Holland and Switzerland, and such are they compared with Ireland. America I shall briefly consider hereafter. Each of the former is surrounded by powerful empires. Each of them was once oppressed by all the rigours of slavery. Each of them burst her shackles, and baffled the most inveterate attacks of enemies, whose power seemed to approach them with the irresistibility of fate.

Holland, inferior to Ireland in every natural advantage, and equal to but a third of her in size, threw off the yoke of the most powerful monarch then in Europe. The firmness and courage which she displayed, will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the power of enthusiasm.

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The seven provinces we are speaking of surmounted every difficulty—they thought they could defend themselves. The ten other provinces, says Voltaire, would have a foreign Prince to protect them, and are in slavery to this day.

One Prince [Henry the IVth of France] to whom they applied for assistance, was himself engaged in civil wars, and yet tottered on his throne. The extreme caution of another, [Queen Elizabeth] in foreign enterprise, corresponded but ill with her magnanimity and resolution in domestic affairs; and from the reprimands she was daily giving to the House of Commons, for presuming to judge of the duty they were called to, she seemed little likely to tempt the wrath of a powerful tyrant or turn abettor of rebellion. The succours received by the States were accordingly for a long time feeble and clandestine. To obtain open assistance from Elizabeth required a longer struggle: and even the offer of their sovereignty. But before any assistance had been received by the States, they had gotten possession of what Doctor Johnson calls “the choice of evil:” Their darling object *liberty*. The very women had formed regiments for the defence of their cities; and, rather than again fall under the hated tyranny of Spain, the dykes and sluices had been opened, and the very Peasants, says Hume, had been active in ruining their own fields by an inundation; they preferred the mercy of the waters to that of tyrants.

These same people have since withstood the most formidable attacks of a Monarch, who thought his power equal to universal empire. They have supported themselves with more than equal honour against the combined fleets of France and England. They have swept the channel of England, and their insults in the Thames have carried consternation to the capital.

In little more than half a century from the time, at which, unprepared as they must have been, they first ventured to take up arms against Spain in defence of their liberty, they beat one of her formidable Armadas*. They obliged it to take shelter in the Downs under the English flag. They retire for a reinforcement;—they resolve—that the fleet of England shall no longer protect their enemy; they return to the charge; and the Spanish navy, in its flight, received from them a blow which at this day, after near a century and an half, it has

* The Duke of Alva left the Low Countries in the year 1574. They beat the Spanish Armada in 1639.

not fully recovered. A few years more, assisted by a few more defeats, softened the obstinacy of Spain. She acknowledged the independence of the States *, and in twenty years after they protected her provinces against France †.

The Swiss, now that they are free, are more secure from attacks, than when they were dependent. They are defended by their mountains and the barrenness of their country; by their poverty, by their valour, and by the mutual jealousies of the neighbouring empires. A partition is not easily agreed upon, and none will consent to their becoming an accession to the power of another, if such an accession were practicable. But it must be confessed that of all the advantages I have mentioned, their valour alone, at the time they threw off the yoke, seemed most in their favour. The enemy had possession of their country. The balance of power was then less understood, or less attended to, and their poverty and commercial insignificance must have been feeble inducements to the protection of their neighbours. Accordingly they had to work out their own liberty, and above three centuries elapsed before the House of Austria acknowledged their independence ‡.

I believe there are few will deny that America has already established her independence. She would not come over and prostrate herself at the feet of England; so England, with the magnanimity of a conqueror, appointed ambassadors to her by act of Parliament. Upon England's condescending "to treat with armed rebels," they refused to treat with England. They had procured friends, and they preferred them to masters. For the situation of America in the beginning of the contest, hear her own unexaggerated description: "Without arms, ammunition, discipline, revenue, government, or ally, almost totally stripped of commerce, and in the weakness of youth, as it were, "with a staff and a sling only," she dared, "in the name of the Lord of Hosts," to engage a gigantic adversary, prepared at all points, boasting of his strength, and of whom even mighty warriors were greatly afraid."

When to this enumeration of difficulties, which, one is tempted to think, requires little addition, we subjoin the fol-

* Treaty of Munster, 1648. † Triple alliance in 1658.

‡ They took up arms in the year 1208. Their independence was acknowledged in 1648, by the treaty of Munster, the same by which Spain acknowledged the independence of the United Provinces.

It would be singular enough if the same period which establishes American independence, shall be found to have destroyed the usurpation of the British Parliament over the legislative rights of Ireland.

lowing; that these Colonies were not more disunited by distance of place, than by difference of opinion, manners, spirit, religion and government; that they were so disunited in all these, that it seemed the dream of a dotard to think of connecting them in one interest, or of bringing them to co-operate, if they could be convinced that their interest was the same; that they were exposed to the navy and arms of England on their sea-coasts, to the incursions of Indians (perhaps too justly enraged) on their rear; and, in some provinces, to the more dangerous insurrections of their domestic slaves, whose dispositions to revenge must have been expected to burst on their more immediate oppressors; when all these particulars, I say, are considered, besides those which America herself has enumerated, I think scarce any nation on the earth should absolutely despair.

Let us consider the present situation of Ireland. I need scarce say, that there is not a maritime power in Europe to which her alliance would not, in itself, be an object of emulation. What then would it appear to the enemies of England? If Ireland should ask their protection, would they require to be founded at a distance, or to be assailed by preparatory arguments and leading propositions? Would they think it prudent to act as they did by America, to stand by, cool spectators of our struggle, till they judged how far we should be able to persevere or be likely to succeed? or, if they determined to assist Ireland, would they be obliged to have recourse to art in order to deceive a credulous minister, and to mask their intentions until they could declare them with safety? No, my countrymen: distant propositions, preparatory arguments, negotiation, art,—all these are to us unnecessary! Conviction has long been confirmed. Their resolution is already taken. Their arms are already in their hands. They have crossed the Atlantic for their own interest and for the humiliation of England. Will a few leagues terrify them when their scheme is so near arriving at almost unhopèd-for perfection? They were then at peace, yet, they engaged in war. They are now at war, will they not carry it on? The sole question with them at present must be this: will they chuse to visit us as enemies, or as friends? For visit us they probably will. Will they attempt a conquest to which they are probably unequal; or will they chuse the easier road, and offer an alliance, which will have every real advantage to be expected from dominion, without the danger of an unsuccessful attempt, or the inconveniencies and hazards of the most successful

successful execution? Will they not offer an alliance such as their good sense has been content with from America, and which they have thought worthy of supporting by a war with England? such an alliance as, from its liberality, it will be the interest of the other European powers, at least, by a tacit acquiescence, to support? An alliance that will not contribute more to the weakening of an haughty adversary, and the disappointment of an insatiable monopolist, than to their own regal power, aggrandisement and glory.

And here, my countrymen, occurs an awful pause! What inducements hath British policy suffered, to take root in the hearts of Irishmen, to enable them to resist such necessary and proffered protection. None, my friends! Loyalty, the fairest flower that can ornament the bosom of a Prince, finds in Ireland its happiest soil. Personal attachment to the King of Ireland, and his illustrious house, is the cord which binds us to our burden, and furnishes to a British people the occasion of loading us without bounds or mercy. Had we as little attachment to the House of Hanover as Scotland, or Manchester, we had long since in despair implored the protection of other powers, for so long as the "Parliament of Great Britain can bind us in all cases whatsoever," the worst that could happen to us would be to change our masters*. The word is not my own. It is by an English Judge and commentator directly applied to the situation of this kingdom, and its subordination to England by right of conquest.

But has England learned nothing from her late experience in America? Will she for ever trust to our loyalty alone, and will our King for ever leave us at the mercy of a British Parliament? As to the English people, the power of God has been

* It may be seen by Blackstone, b. I. p. 100, what an English lawyer thinks the necessary consequence of all dependence upon England! We are bound by every law she, in her wisdom or wantonness, thinks proper to prescribe. We shall soon, I suppose, be on a footing with those slaves of the Romans who were bound to the glebe, or soil. England will think proper that we should not depart from the soil, but be transferred with it by deed, roll, or indenture. This will save us a multitude of disputes about our property, for we shall then, like the Roman slaves, become perfect THINGS, and cease to be PERSONS. The English prints will then afford entertainment to those who can relish it. If any of us are missing from our stalls or lumber-rooms, we shall be advertised for, and described, as "LOST, STRAYED, STOLEN, OR MISLAID."—We shall be taken damage feasant (perhaps rider and all!) and if we happen to die of cold and hunger, in an open pound, it will be at the suit of the owner!—O Ireland! Ireland! Dost thou retain one spark of feeling, to make the oppression of thee a crime?

displayed to them in vain. They seem to have revived the age of miracles, and to have left the Egyptians at a distance. All that should have inspired them with awe, humility, and wisdom, seems but to have darkened their understandings and hardened their hearts! But let it be our duty, my countrymen, to consider the crisis, and profit of it! Let us adore that wonder-working God, who in the intoxication of our oppressors has laid the foundation of our relief, and who in the miscarriages of British tyranny beyond the Atlantic, has taught Irishmen the practicability of their own emancipation from the authority of an usurping English Parliament.

But we are nearer to England. I hear my countrymen lament it, and often have lamented it myself! Yet, (indulge me, my countrymen, while I explain my paradox!) *on that very proximity does the weal of Ireland depend.*

We are near to England; but we are near to assistance also. The Atlantic rolls not between us and England; but neither does it roll between us and her enemies. These enemies are on the way. Before the wind changes they are here. Our proximity to England is to us, in the present posture of affairs, what the distance of America was in the beginning of the contest, to her. The latter was a barrier against Britain; the former is a bridge for her foes. In this respect then we are equal to America. We have however an advantage from our proximity, which she never can derive from her distance. It is a *perpetual guarantee* against the oppression of any self-created protector. It is perpetual, because it depends not on the policy or caprice of kings or of nations. It is fixed in the nature of things.

America might have been ruined by the treachery of France, or she may yet fall by Congress, as England has done by a parliament.

Let Ireland be subject to her own legislation only, and one might venture to say she is free for ever. Her situation and size fit her for that moderate degree of strength and power which is most likely to be permanent.

Let these things be weighed, and perhaps that man could not be acquitted of presumption, who would venture to point out another spot upon the globe, to which Ireland should now wish to be removed.

From this proximity of England, I would deduce *this truth*, which I wish to be engraven on the heart of every Irishman: *England is the only power that can enslave us further, or keep us as we are.* And this is the important mo-
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ment when our own firm constitutional resistance will derive additional support from the dread of her enemies, towards shaking of the shackles off an usurping English people.

But, unless we entertain for each other a mutual and general confidence, unless we lay aside all rancour of prejudice on account of distinctions either political or religious, to attempt such a relief from those shackles would be only to solicit confusion.

There are, however, many instances of states differing very much in religion, and yet united in strict civil confederacy and union. Scarce six of the Cantons of Switzerland are Protestants, the seven remaining are Roman Catholics; and, what seems a little extraordinary, the greater number of the Roman Catholic Cantons are democratical, that of the Protestant Cantons aristocratical in their government. In the United Provinces the majority of the people are either Presbyterians or Roman Catholics, and though Presbyterianism is the established religion, yet, the toleration or connivance which all sects meet with from the government, has produced a general moderation and peace, and, in its natural consequences, has added power, grandeur, and stability to the state. The state of Pennsylvania is equally various in its religion. The laws of this province are more liberal than the spirit of any other province. They give no preference to any sect. They tolerate all sects. All sects are therefore not only peaceable, but content. Most of the other states of America, so firm in their union against England, are scarcely more opposite than they are inveterate in the several prejudices and opinions which they carried with them from Europe. In short, from all the facts we can collect, our uniform conclusion must be, that that nation is most likely to be great, powerful, and happy, which finds political and civil moderation necessary to its very being. Where there are no sects or parties, I may venture to say there cannot be sense, science, liberty, or commerce. Where, from circumstances internal or external, different sects are nearly ballanced in power, the laws must be moderate, and the spirit of the laws will become the spirit of the people. The nation will be in harmony within itself, and that moderation and good sense which will distinguish it in its internal government and policy, must characterise it in its conduct towards other nations.

It is very sensibly observed by a Roman Catholic Priest*, in a late address to those of his own persuasion in Ireland,

* Rev. Arthur O'Leary.

that "conquerors, (and, let me add, traders and politicians) are of no religion." The English established popery in Canada. The French entered into alliance with Presbyterians in North America; and, I dare say, would have done the same, if their Deity had been the sun or a serpent, an onion or a monkey. The Dutch, it is said, tread upon the crosses at Japan, and the English make alliances with Moors and with Indians.

The French are, perhaps, even in religion, as liberal a nation as any in Europe. I judge not of them by their creeds, confessions, or articles of belief: God forbid that I should judge by these alone of the hearts or understandings of any people upon earth, who have public creeds, confessions, or articles! These are not always formed by the wisest or most religious people of a nation. The wisest and most religious are generally better employed. I judge of the French nation by the general conduct of the people; and I believe it will be owned that they are more liberal to Englishmen, than Englishmen are to them. The absurdity of supposing that even conquerors would make violent alterations in private property, and involve themselves in the perplexed disputes and antiquated claims of families, that have suffered by forfeiture, has been well exposed by the Reverend Divine just mentioned. Were the question indeed between two pretenders to the crown, the case might be different. He who succeeded must reinstate some of his adherents, and gratify others. This must be done at the expence of the opposite party. But a conqueror, who is not able to crush the subdued nation at a single effort, will think himself happy in prevailing upon the people to remain quiet as he found them. He will make no alteration which he can avoid; he will avoid every alteration which can disgust or displease. What then is to be expected from even a powerful protector, that offers independence to a nation so divided into parties that no one of them has power to crush the others, supported as they would be, by the nation that formerly enslaved them? I say that, in this case, we might expect such a moderation as would over-rule every petty distinction or jealousy, and would unite the nation by community of interest. To make an alteration in the established religion, or to deny to all denominations of Protestant Dissenters that toleration which they at present enjoy, would be the madness of folly. Those we speak of are neither fools nor madmen.

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The Roman Catholics might, with justice indeed, expect a more compleat toleration. But it would require peculiar delicacy to grant this without offending those Protestants who at present enjoy but a toleration themselves. The interference of Roman Catholic protectors, conscious of the prudence their situation required, must be of the most temperate kind. The alterations made would be gentle, gradual, and rather the effect of an insensible alteration of opinion and removal of prejudice, than an act of force or power in the state. And, from the co-operation of all these causes, I am inclined to think there would naturally arise a mildness of government, and a benevolence of toleration which is unknown to the laws of any other country in Europe, and which enthusiasm itself has scarce dared to think consistent with the littleness of human nature.

But whatever may be the natural dignity and strength of Ireland, or whatever advantages she might derive from the present posture of affairs, there are some who cannot readily give up their attachment to the people of England, or think themselves justified in resisting them in their present state of misfortune, while there are others who yet dread her power, and tremble at her name. To the former I shall speak more particularly hereafter, and hope to shew that we are not bound by any ties of duty, gratitude, or honour, to remain in subjection to the parliament of England.

At present I would address myself to the latter. That the power of England is not yet an imagination I readily will own. Great even yet is the power of England, and great is the memory of her glory! but her glory lives but in memory, and the sinews of her power are withered. Exhausted and foiled by America, whom, in the hour of her insolence, she treated with a contempt that would have robbed victory of its honour, but has covered defeat with aggravated disgrace, returning reason can suggest but one consolation for her folly; that something yet remains for madness to squander, that there is yet a remnant which penury may save. The arbitress of empires may yet exist among nations! the patroness of nations may yet be an house-wife!

There was a time when the world and the Roman Empire were synonymous terms.

There was a time too when the very name of Rome; and the Provinces in awe, though she could scarce have tears ago, her walls; England has fallen by her own weight.

wanted wisdom to balance. Those days are past in which her history went hand in hand with romance: France has struck terror into *her conquerors*, and has shaken the throne of *her King*! The English channel has become a term of mockery. It has seen the navy of England in its *flight*! The navy of England has *left* her coasts to be insulted! That the navy of England was able to secure the protection of a port has, to a sovereign of England, become a theme of congratulation!

While England thus protects herself, need I ask what protection she is likely to afford to Ireland? If we remain by her bad policy in our present impoverished state, can she protect us from the arms or insults of her enemies?

Have we not men in arms already? Men whom England, and the slaves of England, would long ere this have disarmed, had they dared to do so! Men whose spirit they now affect to approve, because they find their approbation is indifferent to them! Men whose spirit must obtain a momentary protection, and to whom a very little time will render protection unnecessary! Men who may yet teach England that the soil of their own country benumbs not their courage; that it is not on the plains of Flanders or America alone that *Irishmen* can *conquer*!

The subject, my countrymen, has risen upon me. I have (I hope you will think unavoidably) been led into some details. My indignation, upon other occasions, I have found it difficult to repress. You will consider the design, and pardon any involuntary failure in the execution. But, before I take my leave for the present, allow me to ask one short question:

Shall we trust to other nations for a temporary protection, which (judging from human nature, and their particular line of conduct) I aver it to be equally their interest and their inclination to give, and the bounds of which, as I have endeavoured to prove, they cannot exceed; or, shall we depend to eternity on the generosity of a nation, who has shewn herself as incapable of generosity as of justice, and whose folly has disabled her from performing the duties of either? She hunders forth the mandates of her *omnipotence*; but, is her providence so particular, so watchful, so active, and so benevolent, that we should leave to her more than the God of religion demands for himself, that we should leave agency to sender, and address her but in prayer? Is the night of religious the mason passed away, and must that of political idolatry nor mad, rightful vicissitude of day? Our night of both has it not been long? But the sun of England, in whose meridian

shews that Ireland was even then highly renowned on the same account,

Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis & auri.

From these foreign evidences, let us now recur to the accurate pages of the Irish History. In the reign of Tighernmas, who flourished about 1000 years before Christ, we are told that the first gold mine found in Ireland, was discovered near the banks of the Liffy: and our annalists have been minute enough to tell us, that Juachadhan of Cualane, in the county of Wicklow, was the principal conductor of these works *, whose knowledge in metals and colours, they have not neglected to mention. In more than a century after we find that targets of pure silver were fabricated, and distributed to the bravest of the soldiery; and in the reign of Muineamhuin, who founded the order of the Golden Collar (so called from each knight wearing a collar of gold hung round his neck by a chain of the same metal) helmets were made with the neck and fore-pieces of pure gold. The handles of the swords of our antient knight, were made of pure gold, and the blades of a mixt brass, numbers of which have been and are daily discovered in bogs and other recesses. It appears among the hostages delivered to the Emperors of Ireland by the provinces, as well foreign as domestic, that those of Orgial were particularly distinguished from the rest, by having their shackles of pure gold, and the very word signifies the Golden Hostage. Part of the *Boirimbe-Laighen*, or tax on the kingdom of Leinster, and regularly paid into the monarch's treasury, for near 400 years, was 6000 ounces of pure silver. These facts it should seem are sufficient proofs of the great riches of antient Ireland, and her superior knowledge and industry to the modern. But if her own history will not be allowed as evidence in her favour, without modern collateral proofs, we are even abundantly furnished with these.

Mr. O Flaherty †, from Nenius, an author of the 9th century, and from old manuscripts, gives an account of the antiently supposed wonders of Ireland, some of which have been found true, others false. Among others we find the following account of mines about Louch-Lene, or Killarney in the county of Kerry.

*Mamonie stagnum Lochlenius undique Zonis
Quatuor ambitur: prior est ex ære; secunda
Plumbea; de rigido conflatur tertia ferro:
Quarto reidentem pallefcet linea Stanno.*

* Keating p. 1. O Flaherty, p. 195. Grat. Lucius, &c.

† Ogygia, p. 220.

We also find, that in said lake, large quantities of pearls have been found.

It is not above thirty years since a very rich copper mine was discovered on the border of this lake, and worked with very great profit to the proprietors for many years; but what is greatly to our purpose, is, that on pushing on their works, they found shafts had been regularly sunk, and implements of mining were found. These works were ignorantly imputed to the Danes, who, it appears, had very inconsiderable settlements here, and who, it must be confessed, seem to have been little qualified for such undertakings. As to the lead mine it is an uncontroverted fact, that about fifty years ago, an English company worked one at Castle Lyons, on the side of the Lake; and many years after, the same works were resumed under the inspection of one Longstaff, from which they extracted large quantities of silver. Though the tin mine has not been yet found, nor, I suppose, searched for, yet Smith * confesses to have found near the lake an ore which contained tin; and as for the iron mines, the proofs that they were largely carried on here are many, and at this day one is worked near Mucrofs. A. C. 1094, we read of an elegant present of Kerry pearls, from Gilbert Bishop of Limerick, to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury †. At this day pearls are frequently found in the lake; nor can it be denied but the finest amethysts, emeralds, and other precious stones, and the hardest, are found in this country; and the common Kerry stone nearly approaches the diamond in lustre and hardness. Yet it is not above fifty years since such have been discovered; though we read, that our early princes and nobles wore them in their ears and on their cloaths; and that the Bishop of Fescoli has mentioned these among the other productions of Ireland! In opening of many other mines, old shafts have been discovered, and implements of mining found, particularly in a rich lead one, on the estate of Thomas Westrop, Esq; in this county, and bordering on the Shannon. In working the lead mines of Knocaderry, since called Silver Mines, in the county of Tipperary, in the beginning of the last century, shafts were seen, and every other proof of its being worked centuries earlier. The rich copper mines in the county of Wicklow, and these latter ones in the county of Tipperary, are still further proofs of the great plenty of this metal formerly; and will explain why

* Nat. History county of Kerry, p. 125.

† Epist. Hibern, Syl. p. 81, &c.

the sharp edges of the blades of our antient swords, &c. were of a mixt brass; and how the people of Leinster were enabled to give six thousand copper cauldrons to the Monarch's tax-gatherers, every second year, being a part of their famous tribute, the cause of so much bloodshed in Ireland.

When the Spaniards, in Queen Elizabeth's days, landed at Smerwic bay, in the county of Kerry, on erecting a fort near it, from the many pieces of gold they found here they called it Fort de l'or; and some years ago some country people, in trenching potatoes near it, found several corselets of pure gold. Mr. Smith * supposes this to be part of the treasures sent from Spain, in these days; but is it probable that gold corselets were sent to relieve a distressed people, who only wanted powder and ball, and which they sought for at an immense expence? Besides, Sir George Carew, then president of Munster, and an indisputable authority, tells us †, that these treasures were in money, safely landed by Mac Eagan, Apostolic Vicar, and by him distributed to the Irish chiefs; nay, he is even minute enough to tell us each person's share. But numbers of these, as well as handles of swords, and gold of a particular colour and hardness, made for the purpose of lodging the poll-axes of our antient *Marc-Sloigh*, or cavalry, have been frequently found. Of these corselets alone, I have seen above twenty, and purchased one, the gold of which was so ductile as to roll up, like paper. These likewise prove the reality of our Niagha-Nasc, or Knights of the Golden Collar, as well as the superior knowledge of our ancestors in the natural history of their country. They shew the care taken to advance nothing but what was strictly true, in our antient history; and at the same time, point out to the public, the great loss the learned world, as well as this kingdom, has sustained by the destruction of so many of our antient annals, and the necessity of attending more diligently to what remain. Even our old odes and ballads, should not be too slightly regarded. The Bishop of London, in his edition of Camden, p. 1411, tells us, "That
" The Bishop of Derry being one day at dinner, an Irish harp-
" er came in, and sung an old ode to the harp, the substance
" of which was, that in such a place, pointing to the very
" spot, near Ballyshannon, a man of gigantic figure lay buried;
" and that over his breast and back were plates of pure
" gold, and on his fingers rings of the same; the place was

* History of Kerry, p. 186. † Parat. Hibern. p. 305.

Thirdly, in the 12th of Henry III. All those laws and customs of England, which by those several charters were declared and confirmed to be the laws of England, were established to be of force in Ireland. And thus Ireland came to be governed by one and the same common law with England; and those laws continue as part of the municipal and fundamental laws of both kingdoms to this day.

It now remains that we enquire, how the statute laws and acts of parliament made in England, since the 9th of Henry III. came to be of force in Ireland; and whether all or any of them, and which, are in force here, and when and how they came to be so,

And the first precedent that occurs in our books, of acts of parliament made in Ireland, particularly mentioning and confirming special acts of parliament in England, is found in a marginal note of Sir Richard Bolton's, formerly lord chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, affixed in his edition of the Irish statutes, to stat. 10 Hen. 7, cap. 22. to this purport, That in 13 Ed. II. 'by parliament in this realm of Ireland
' the statutes of Merton, made the 20th of Henry II. and
' the statutes of Marlbridge, made the 25th of Henry III.
' the statute of Westminster the first, made the 3d of Edward
' I. the statute of Gloucester, made the 6th of Edward I.
' and the statute of Westminster the second, made the 13th
' of Edward I. were all confirmed in this kingdom, and all
' other statutes which were of force in England, were referred to be examined in the next parliament; and so many
' as were then* allowed and published, to stand likewise for
' laws in this kingdom. And in the 10th of Henry the
' IV. it was enacted in this kingdom of Ireland, "That
' the statutes made in England should not be of force in
' this kingdom, unless they were allowed and published
' in this kingdom by parliament." 'And the like statute
' was made again in the 29th of Henry VI. These statutes are not to be found in the rolls, nor any parliament
' roll of that time; but he (Sir Richard Bolton) had seen the
' same exemplified under the great seal, and the exemplification remaineth in the treasury of the city of Waterford.' Thus far the note. If we consider the frequent troubles and distractions in Ireland, we shall not wonder that these, and many other rolls and records, have been lost in this kingdom: For from the 3d year of Edward the II. which was anno

* Vid. lib. rubr scaccar. Dubl.

130, through the whole reigns of Edward the III. Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. and so to the 7th year of Henry VI. anno 1428, which is about 118 years, there are not any parliament rolls to be found*; yet certain it is, that divers parliaments were held in Ireland in those times†. The same may be said from Henry II's coming into Ireland, anno 1172, to the 3d year of Edward II anno 1310, about 138 years.

Perhaps it may be said, that if there were such statutes of Ireland as the said acts of the 10th of Henry IV. and the 29th of Henry VI. as they shew, that the parliaments of Ireland did think that English acts of parliament could not bind Ireland; yet they shew likewise, that, even in those days, the parliaments of England did claim this superiority; or else to what purpose were the said acts made, unless in denial of that claim.

All which I hope may be readily granted without any prejudice to the right of the Irish parliaments: there is nothing so common, as to have one man claim another man's right: and if bare pretence will give a title, no man is secure: and it will be yet worse, if when another so pretends, and I insist on my right, my just claim shall be turned to my prejudice, and to the disparagement of my title.

We know very well, that many of the judges of our four-courts have been from time to time sent out of England; and some of them may easily be supposed to come over hither prepossessed with an opinion of our parliament's being subordinate to that of England. Or, at least, some of them may be scrupulous, and desirous of full security in this point; and on their account, and for their satisfaction, such acts as aforesaid, may be devised, and enacted in Ireland. But then, God forbid that these acts should afterwards be laid hold of to a clear other intent than what they were framed for; and instead of declaring and securing our rights, should give an handle of contest, by shewing that our rights have been questioned of ancient time.

In conclusion of all, if this superiority of the parliament of England have been doubted a great while ago, so it has been as great a while ago strenuously opposed, and absolutely denied by the parliaments of Ireland: and by the way, I shall take notice, that from whencesoever this ancient pretence of Ireland's subordination proceeded in those days, it did

* Annals of Ireland, at the end of Camden's Britain. Edit. 1634. page 195, 197, &c.

† Ibid. page 160. Pryn against the 4th Instit. chap. 76.

not arise from the parliament of England itself: for we have, not one single instance of an English act of parliament expressly claiming this right of binding us: but we have several instances of Irish acts of parliament expressly denying this subordination, as appears by what foregoes.

Afterwards, by a statute made in Ireland the 18th of Henry VI. cap. 1. All the statutes made in England against the extortions and oppressions of purveyors, are enacted to be ‘holden and kept in all points, and put in execution in this land of Ireland.’

And in the 32d year of Henry VI. cap. 1. by a parliament in Ireland ’tis enacted, ‘That all the statutes made against provisors to the court of Rome, as well in England as in Ireland, be had and kept in force.’

After this, in a parliament at Drogheda the 8th of Edward IV. cap. 1. it was ratified, that the English statute against rape, made the 6th of Richard II. should be of force in Ireland, from the 6th day of March last past: ‘And that from henceforth the said act, and all other statutes and acts made by authority of parliament within the realm of England, be ratified, and confirmed, and adjudged, by the authority of this parliament in their force and strength, from the said sixth day of March.’ We shall hereafter have occasion of taking farther notice of this statute upon another account.

Lastly, in a parliament held at Drogheda the 10th of Henry VII. cap. 22. it is enacted, ‘that all statutes late’ (that is as the * learned in the laws expound it, before that time) ‘made in England, concerning the common and public weal of the same, from henceforth be deemed effectual in law, and be accepted, used and executed within this land of Ireland in all points, &c.’

† And in the 14th year of the same king’s reign, in a parliament held at Tristram-Dermot, it was enacted, That all acts of parliament made in England for punishing customers, controulers, and searchers, for their misdemeanors; or for punishment of merchants or factors, be of force here in Ireland, provided they be first proclaimed at Dublin, Drogheda, and other market-towns.

Thus we see by what steps and degrees all the statutes which were made in England, from the time of Magna Charta, to the 10th of Henry VII. which did concern the public commonweal,

* Cook’s 4th instit. cap. 76, p. 351.

† Vid. Irish Stat.

were received, confirmed, and authorized to be of force in Ireland; all which was done by assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament of Ireland assembled, and no otherwise.

We shall not enquire, whether there are not other acts of the English parliament, both before and since the 10th of Henry VII. which were and are of force in Ireland, though not allowed of by parliament in this kingdom. And we shall find, that by the opinion of our best lawyers, there are divers such; but then they are only such as are declaratory of the ancient common law of England, and not introductive of any new law: for these become of force by the first general establishment of the common laws of England in this kingdom, under Henry II. king John, and Henry III. and need no particular act of Ireland for their sanction.

As to those English statutes since the 10th of Henry VIIth, that are introductive of a new law, it was never made a question whether they should bind Ireland, without being allowed in parliament here; till of very late years this doubt began to be moved; and how it has been carried on and promoted, shall appear more fully hereafter.

I say, till of very late years; for the ancient precedents which we have to the contrary, are very numerous. Amongst many, we shall mention the following particulars.

In the 21st of Henry VIIIth, an act was made in England, making it felony in a servant that runeth away with his master's or mistress's goods. This act was not received in Ireland till it was enacted by a parliament held here in the 33d of Henry VIIIth, c. 5. Sec. 1.

In the 21st of Henry VIII. c. 19. there was a law made in England, that all lords might distrain on the lands of them holden, and make their avowry not naming the tenant, but the land. But this was not of force in Ireland till enacted here in the 33d of Henry VIII. c. 1. Sec. 1.

An act was made in England, anno 31 Henry VIII. that joint-tenants and tenants in common should be compelled to make partition, as co-parceners were compellable at common law. But this act was not received in Ireland till enacted here, anno 33 Henry VIII. c. 10.

Anno 27 Henry VIII. c. 10. the statute for transferring uses into possession was made in England; but not admitted in Ireland till 10 Car. 2, Sec. 2.

In

In like manner, the English statute 33 Henry VIII. c. 1. directing how lands and tenements may be disposed by will, &c. was not of force in Ireland till 10 Car. 2. Sef. 2.

The act of uniformity of common prayer and administration of the sacraments was made in England the 1st of Eliz. c. 2. but was not established in Ireland till the 2d of Eliz. c. 2. And so that of England 14 Car. 2. c. 14. was not received in Ireland till 17 & 18 Car. 2. c. 6.

The statute against wilful perjury made in England 5 Eliz. c. 9. was not enacted in Ireland till 28 Eliz. c. 1.

So the English act against witchcraft and sorcery made 5 Eliz. c. 16. And another act against forgery 5 Eliz. c. 14. were neither of them in force in Ireland till the 28th of her reign, cap. 3, and 4.

The English statute against piracies was made the 28th of Henry VIII. c. 15. but not in Ireland till the 12th of King James, c. 2.

In England an act was made the 27th of Eliz. c. 4. against fraudulent conveyances; but it was not in force in Ireland till enacted here the 10th of Charles, c. 3. Sef. 2.

In the 15th year of king Charles I. in a parliament held at Dublin, there were six English statutes made laws of this kingdom, with such alterations as best fitted them to the state thereof, viz.

21 Jac. c. 14. For pleading the general issue in intrusions brought by the king, by chap. 1 of the Irish statutes.

31 Eliz. c. 2. For abridging of proclamations on fines, by chap. 2.

2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 8. concerning offices before the escheator, by chap. 4.

31 Eliz. c. 1. Discontinuance of writs of error in the Exchequer chamber, by chap. 5.

8 Eliz. c. 4. and 18 Eliz. c. 7. concerning clergy, by chap. 7.

24 Hen. VIII. c. 5. concerning killing a robber, by chap. 9.

There are six English statutes likewise passed in the time of king Charles II. upon and soon after the restoration, some of which were not passed into laws in Ireland till a year, two or three, afterwards: as will appear by consulting the statute books*

* Irish stat. 13 C. 2, c. 2. 13 C. 2, c. 3. 14 & 15 C. 2, c. 1. 14 & 15 C. 2, c. 19. 17 & 18 C. 2, c. 3. 17 & 18 C. 2, c. 11. English stat. 12 C. 2, c. 12. 12 C. 2, c. 3. 12 C. 2, c. 14. 12 C. 2, c. 24. 12 C. 2, c. 33. 16 & 17 C. 2, c. 5.

And in the first year of William and Mary, Sess. 2. c. 9. an act passed in England, declaring all attainders and other acts made in the late pretended parliament under king James at Dublin, void : but was not enacted here in Ireland till the 7th year of king William, c. 3. And this was thought requisite to be done upon mature consideration thereon before the king and council of England*, notwithstanding that the English act does particularly name Ireland, and was wholly designed for, and relates thereto.

The like may we find in several other statutes of England passed since his present majesty's accession to the throne, which have afterwards been passed here in Ireland, with such alterations as make them practicable and agreeable to this kingdom, such as are amongst others, the act for disarming papists. The act of recognition. The act for taking away clergy from some offenders. The act for taking special bail in the country, &c. The act against clandestine mortgages. The act against cursing and swearing.

These, with many more, are to be found in our statute books in the several reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Elizabeth, king James, king Charles I. and II. and king William. But it is not to be found in any records in Ireland, that ever any act of parliament, introductive of a new law made in England since the time of king John, was by the judgment of any court, received for law, or put in execution in the realm of Ireland, before the same was confirmed and assented to by the parliament in Ireland.

And thus I presume we have pretty clearly* made out, and plainly shewn the several steps by which the English form of government, and the English statute laws were received in this kingdom ; and that this was wholly by the people's consent in parliament, to which we have had a very ancient right, and as full a right as our next neighbours can pretend to, or challenge.

It were endless to mention all the records and precedents that might be quoted for the establishment of the laws of England ; I shall therefore enter no farther into that matter but therein refer to lord chief justice Cook, † Pryn ‡, Reylly §, &c.

* For we have had two several acts transmitted to us at different times, to this very purpose. One we rejected in the lord Sidney's government, t'other passed under the lord Capell.

† Fourth inst. ‡ Against the fourth inst. § Placita parliamentaria.

The hand of English power may be said then to have grasped at Irish freedom only, under the detestable reign of Charles II*.

In the year 1663 the distinctions † between the trade of England and Ireland ‡, and the restraints on that of the latter commenced. By an English act passed in that year, intitled an act "for the encouragement of trade," a title not very applicable to the parts of it that related to Ireland, besides laying a duty nearly equal to a prohibition on cattle imported into England from that kingdom, the exportation of all commodities, except victuals, servants, horses, and salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, from thence to the English plantations, was prohibited from the 25th of March, 1764. The exports allowed were useful to them, but prejudicial to Ireland, as they consisted of our people, our provisions, and a material for manufacture which we might have used more profitably on our own coasts.

In 1670 another act || passed in England, to prohibit from the 24th of March 1671, the exportation from the English plantations to Ireland of several materials for manufactures §, without first unloading in England or Wales. We are informed by this act that the restraint of the exportation from the English plantations to Ireland was intended by the act of 1663; but the intention is not effectuated, though the importation of those commodities into Ireland *from England*, without first unloading there, is, in effect, prohibited by that act.

The prohibition of importing into Ireland any plantation goods, unless the same had been first landed in England, and had paid the duties, is made general, without any exception, by the English act of the 7th and 8th W. 3d, ch. 22.

* This I am sure of, that before these acts (cattle, tobacco, and navigation acts) in King Charles II. time, (the eldest of which is not over thirty-seven years) there is not one positive full precedent to be met with in all the statute-book, of an English act binding the kingdom of Ireland. And on this account we may venture to assert, that these are at least innovations on us, as not being warranted by any former precedents.

And shall proceedings only of thirty-seven years standing, be urged against a nation, to deprive them of the rights and liberties which they enjoyed for five hundred years before, and which were invaded without and against their consent, and from that day to this have been constantly complained of? Let any English heart that stands so justly in vindication of his own rights and liberties, answer this question, and I have done.

Molyneux, p. 40.

† Commer. Restr.

‡ 15 Ch. 2, ch. 7.

|| 22d and 23d Ch. 2d, ch. 26.

§ Sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, steel or Jamaica wood, fustick, or other dying wood, the growth of the said plantations.

By comparing the restrictive law of 1699, with the statutes which had been previously enacted in England from the 15th year of the reign of Charles the Second, relative to the Colonies, it appears that this restrictive law originated in a system of colonization. The principle of that system was, that the Colonies should send their materials to England, and take from thence her manufactures, and that the making those manufactures in the Colonies should be prohibited or discouraged. But was it reasonable to extend this principle to Ireland? The climate, growth and productions of the Colonies were different from those of their parent country. England had no sugar-canes, coffee, dying-stuff, and little tobacco. She took all those from her Colonies only, and it was thought reasonable that they should take from her only the manufactures which she made. But in Ireland, the climate, soil, growth and productions are the same as in England, who could give no such equivalent to Ireland as she gave to America, and was so far from considering her, when this system first prevailed, as a proper subject for such regulations, that she was allowed the benefits arising from those Colonies equally with England, until the 15th year of the reign of King Charles * the Second. By an act passed in that year, Ireland had no longer the privilege of sending any of her exports, except servants, horses, victuals and salt, to any of the Colonies; the reasons are assigned in the preamble, "To make
 " this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those
 " plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries
 " and places for the supplying of them, and it being the
 " usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to
 " themselves †." At the time of passing this law, though less liberal ideas in respect of Ireland were then entertained, it went no further than not to extend to her the benefit of those Colony regulations; but it was not then thought that this kingdom was a proper subject for any such regulations. The scheme of substituting there, instead of the woollen, the linen trade, was not at that time thought of. The English were desirous to establish it among themselves, and by an act of parliament ‡ made in that year for encouraging the manufacture of linen, granted to all foreigners who shall set it up in England, the privileges of natural born subjects.

* 15 Ch. II. ch. 7.

† As other nations did the same, Ireland was shut out from the new world, and a considerable part of the old in Asia and Africa.

‡ 15 Ch. II. ch. 15.

But it appears by the English statute of the 7th and 8th Will. III *. that this scheme had not succeeded in England; and from this act it is manifest that England considered itself, as well as Ireland, interested to encourage the linen manufacture there; and it does not then appear to have been thought just, that Ireland should purchase this benefit for both, by giving up the exportation of any other manufacture. But in 1698 a different principle prevailed; in effect the same, so far as relates to the woollen manufacture, with that which had prevailed as to the commerce of the Colonies. This is evident from the preamble of the English law † made in 1699, “For as much as wool and woollen manufactures of cloth, serge, bays, kerseys and other stuffs, made or mixed with wool, are the greatest, and most profitable commodities of this kingdom, on which the value of lands and the trade of the nation do chiefly depend; and whereas great quantities of like manufactures have of late been made and are daily encreasing in the kingdom of Ireland, and in the *English plantations* in America, and are exported from thence to foreign markets, heretofore supplied from England, which will inevitably sink the value of lands, and tend to the ruin of the trade and woollen manufactures of this realm; for the prevention whereof, and for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures in this kingdom, &c.”

The ruinous consequences of the woollen manufactures of Ireland to the value of lands, trade and manufactures of England, stated in this act, are apprehensions that were entertained, and not events that had happened; and before those facts are taken for granted, I request the mischiefs recited in the acts ‡ made in England to prevent the importation of cattle dead or alive from Ireland, may be considered.

Connecting this preamble of the act of 1699, with the speech made from the throne to the parliament of Ireland in the year 1698, with the addresses of both houses in England, and with the prohibition, by this and by other acts formerly made in England, of exporting wool from Ireland except to that kingdom, the object of this new commercial regulation is obvious. It was to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and in effect, to prohibit the exportation from thence, because it was the principal branch of

* Ch. 39.

† 10th and 11th W. III. ch. 10.

‡ 15 Ch. II. ch. 7. 18 Ch. II. ch. 2. 20 Ch. II. ch. 7. 22d and 23d Ch. II. ch. 6. 3 Ch. II. ch. 2.

manufacture, and trade in England, to induce us to send to them our materials for that manufacture, and that we should be supplied with it by them; and to encourage, as a compensation to Ireland, the linen manufacture, which was not at that time a commercial object of any importance to England.

The supposed compensation was no more than what Ireland had before; no further encouragement was given by England to our linen manufacture until six years after this prohibition, when at the request of the Irish house of commons, and after a representation of the ruinous state of this country, liberty was given by an English act of parliament * to export our white and brown linens into the colonies, which was allowing us to do as to one manufacture, what, before the 15th of king Charles the second, was permitted in every instance.

For several centuries before this period Ireland was in possession of the English common law †, and of magna charta. The former secures the subject in the enjoyment of property of every kind; and by the latter, *the liberties of all the ports of the kingdom are established.*

The statutes made in England for the common and public weal, are ‡ by an Irish act of the 10th of Henry the 7th, made laws in Ireland; and the English commercial statutes, in which Ireland is expressly mentioned, will place the former state of commerce in this country in a light very different from that in which it has been generally considered in Great-Britain.

By the 17th of Edward the 3d, ch. 1. all sorts of merchandizes may be exported from Ireland, except to the king's enemies.

By the 27th of Edward the 3d, ch. 18. merchants of Ireland and Wales may bring their merchandize to the staple of England; and by the 34th of the same king, ch. 17. all kinds of merchandizes may be exported from and imported into Ireland, as well by aliens as denizens. In the same year there is another statute, ch. 18. that all persons who have lands or possessions in Ireland, may freely import thither,

* 3 and 4 Ann. ch. 8.

† 4 Inst. 349. Matth. Paris, anno 1172. p. 121, 220. Vit. H. 2. Pryn, against the 4th Inst. 76, p. 250, 252. Sir. John Davis's Hist. 71. Lord Lyttleton's Hist. of H. 2. 3 Vol. 89, 90. 7 Co. 22. 23. 4th Black. 429.

‡ Cooke's 4th Inst. 351.

and export from that kingdom *their own commodities*; and by the 50th of Edward the 3d, ch. 8. no alnage is to be paid, if frize ware, which are made in Ireland.

The reign of Edward the 4th furnishes still stronger instances of the *regard* shewn by England to the trade and manufactures of this country.

In the third year of that monarch's reign, the artificers of England complained to parliament that they were greatly impoverished and *could not live* by bringing in divers commodities and wares ready wrought*. An act passed reciting those complaints, and ordaining that no merchant born a subject of the king, denizen or stranger, or other person should bring into England or Wales any woollen cloths, &c. and enumerates many other manufactures, on pain of forfeiture; provided that all wares and "chaffers" made and wrought in Ireland or Wales, may be brought in and sold in the realm of England, as they were wont before the making of that act.†

In the next year another act‡ passed in that kingdom, that all woollen cloth brought into England and set to sale, should be forfeited, except cloths made in Wales or Ireland.

In those reigns England was as careful of the commerce and manufactures of her ancient sister kingdom, particularly in her great staple trade, as she was of her own.

Of this attention there were further instances in the years 1468 and 1478. In two treaties concluded in those years between England and the duke of Bretagne, the merchandize to be traded in between England, Ireland and Calais on the one part, and Bretagne on the other, is specified, and woollen cloths are particularly mentioned§.

And in a treaty between Henry the 7th and the Netherlands, Ireland is included, both as to exports and imports||.

From this time until the 15th of king Charles the 2d, which takes in a period of 167 years, the commercial constitution of Ireland was as much favoured and protected as that of England; "the free enlargement of common traffic which his majesty's subjects of Ireland enjoyed," is

* 3d Edw. 4. ch. 4.

† The part of this law which mentions that it shall be determinable at the king's pleasure, has the prohibition for its object, and does not lessen the force of the argument in favour of Ireland.

‡ 4th Edw. IV. ch. 1.

§ Anderson on Commerce, 1 Vol. 285.

|| Ib. 319

taken notice of incidentally, in an English statute, in the reign of king James the 1st* ; and in 1627 king Charles the 1st made a strong declaration in favour of the trade and manufactures of this country. By several English statutes in the reign of king Charles the 2d, an equal attention was shewn to the woollen manufactures in both kingdoms; in the 12th year of his reign † the exportation of wool, wool-felts, fuller's earth, or any kind of scowering-earth, was prohibited from both. But let the reasons, mentioned in the “ preamble, for passing this law be adverted to: “ For preventing inconveniencies and losses that happened, and that “ daily do and may happen to the kingdom of England, “ dominion of Wales, and kingdom of Ireland, through the “ secret exportation of wool out of and from the said kingdoms and dominions; and for the *better setting on work the “ poor people* and inhabitants of the kingdoms and dominions “ aforesaid, and to the intent that the full use and benefit of “ *the principal native commodities* of the same kingdom and “ dominion may come, redound, and be unto the subjects and “ inhabitants of the same.

The shipping and navigation of England and Ireland were at this time equally favoured and protected. By another act of the same year, no goods or commodities ‡ of the growth, production or manufacture of Asia, Africa or America, shall be imported into England, *Ireland* or Wales, but in ships which belong to the people of England or *Ireland*, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, or which are of the built of the said lands, and of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English; and a subsequent statute § makes the encouragement to navigation in both countries equal, by ordaining that the subjects of *Ireland* and of the Plantations shall be accounted English within the meaning of that clause. Another law ¶ of the same reign shews that the navigation, commerce and woollen manufactures of both kingdoms were equally protected by the English legislature. This act lays on the same restraint as the above-mentioned act of the 12th of Charles II. and makes the transgression still more penal. It recites that wool, wool-felts, &c. are secretly exported from England and Ireland to foreign parts, to the great decay of the woollen manufactures and

* 3d James, ch. 6.

† 12th Ch. 2, ch. 32.

‡ 12 Ch. 2, ch. 18.

§ 13th and 14th Ch. 2, ch. 11.

¶ 15th and 14th Ch. 2, ch. 18.

the destruction of the navigation and commerce of *these kingdoms*.

From those laws it appears that the commerce, navigation and manufactures of this country were not only favoured and protected by the English legislature, but that we had in those times the full benefit of their Plantation trade; whilst the woollen manufactures were protected and encouraged in England and Ireland, the planting of tobacco in both was prohibited, because "it was one of the main products of several
" of the plantations, and upon which their welfare and subsistence do depend*." This policy was liberal, just and equal; it opened the resources, and cultivated the strength of every part of the empire.

This commercial system of Ireland was enforced by several acts of her own legislature; two statutes passed in the reign of Henry VIII. to prevent the exportation of wool, because, says the first of those laws, "it hath been the cause of dearth
" of cloth, and idleness of many folks †," and "tends to the
" desolation and ruin of this poor land." The second of those laws enforces the prohibition ‡ by additional penalties; it recites, "that the said beneficial law had taken little effect, but
" that since the making thereof, great plenty of wool had been
" conveyed out of this land, to the great and inestimable hurt,
" decay and impoverishment of the King's poor subjects within
" the said land; for redress whereof, and in consideration that
" conveying of the wool of the growth of this land out of the
" same is one of the greatest occasions of the idleness of the
" people, waste, ruin and desolation of the King's cities and
" borough towns, and other places of his dominion within
" this land." The 11th of Elizabeth § lays duties on the exportation equal to a prohibition; and the reason given in the preamble ought to be mentioned; "That the said commodities
" may be more abundantly wrought in this realm ere they shall
" be so transported, than presently they are, which shall set
" many now living idle on work, to the great relief and commodity of this realm ||."

By the preamble of one of those acts, made in the reign of Charles II. it appears that the sale of Irish woollen goods

* 12 Ch. 2, ch. 27.

† Ir. act, 13 H. 8, ch. 2.

‡ 28 H. 8, ch. 17.

§ Ch. 10.

|| The necessity of encouraging the people of Ireland to manufacture their own wool, appears, by divers statutes, to have been the sense of the legislature of both kingdoms for some centuries.

the decree or order made in the said cause in the court of Chancery there : whereupon a committee was appointed, to consider of the proper method of appealing from the decrees made in the court of Chancery in Ireland, and that pursuant to the order of the said committee, and a letter sent to the Lords Justices of Ireland, by order of this house, several precedents have been transmitted by the Lords Justices to this house, copies whereof were ordered to be delivered to either side: after hearing counsel upon the petition of the society of London, presented to this house the 20th of April last, praying that they might be heard, as to the jurisdiction of the house of lords in Ireland, in receiving and judging appeals from the Chancery there, as also counsel for the bishop of Derry : after due consideration of the precedents, and of what was offered by counsel thereupon ; it is this day ordered, adjudged and declared, by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that the said appeal by the bishop of Derry, to the house of lords in Ireland, from the decree or order of the court of Chancery there made, in the cause wherein the said bishop of Derry was plaintiff, and the said society of the governors and assistants of London, of the New plantation in Ulster, in Ireland, were defendants, was *coram non iudice*, and that all the proceedings thereupon are null and void ; and, that the court of Chancery in Ireland ought to proceed in the said cause, as if no such appeal had been made to the house of lords there ; and if either of the said parties do find themselves aggrieved by the said decree or order of Chancery, they are at liberty to pursue their proper remedy by way of appeal to this house.

Ordered, That the Lord Chancellor do write to the lords Justices of Ireland, and send them this order.

MAL. JOHNSON, *Cler. Parli.*

REASONS against the foregoing ORDER,

By WILLIAM MOLYNEUX, Esq.*

1st. Because upon the conquest † of Ireland by Henry the II. he introduced the laws of England in that kingdom, and sent over the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum in Terminis*, the

* Found in the hand writing of the author in blank leaves of one of his cases, &c. sent to the then bishop of Meath, and now in the possession of John Evans, Esq; St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.

† Mr. Molyneux here uses the word *conquest*, in compliance with the English idea of Henry's invasion, in order, we may suppose, to render his arguments more subservient to their object.

same with that of England, in which record it is said that such things may be examined and corrected, in *Pleno parlamento et non alibi*.

2dly. Because in the 20th year of king Henry the third, it was provided, that all laws and customs which are enjoyed in England, shall be also in Ireland, and that the land shall be subject thereunto and governed thereby, *sicut Dominus Johannes Ker cum ultimo esset in Hibernia statuit et fieri mandavit et quod brevia de communi jure quæ currunt in Anglia similiter currant in Hibernia*.

3dly. Because king Edward III. in the 29th year of his reign, ordained for the quiet and good government of the people in Ireland, that in all cases whatsoever, errors in judgment, in records, and proceedings in the courts of Ireland, shall be corrected and amended in parliament in Ireland.

4thly. Because it appears by other ancient records *quod terra Hiberniæ intra se omnes et omnimodas habet curias prout in Anglia*.

5thly. Because a conqueror by the laws of England and of nations, having power to introduce what laws he will in the conquered country, and king Henry II. pursuant to that power, having introduced the laws of England, and particularly that of holding parliaments in Ireland the house of lords in parliament in Ireland, may proceed to hear and determine judicially such matters as shall be brought before them, in the same manner as the lords in parliament in England.

6thly. Because pursuant to the many concessions made by king Henry II. king John, king Henry III. and other kings of England, the Lords in parliament in Ireland, have proceeded to correct and amend errors in judgment and decrees in the courts of Ireland, (as appears by the several precedents certified over to your lordships) and their judgments never before this called in question, many of them being very irregular. It is therefore presumed to have been by a good and lawful jurisdiction, otherwise they would have been by our ancestors (who were zealous assertors of their rights) long before this called in question.

7thly. The order declaring the appeal was *scram non judice*, and null and void, will call all other judgments and decrees in question, under which many estates have been purchased, settled, and enjoyed, which will be of fatal consequence to many families, and create great discontent and dissatisfaction in that kingdom.

8thly. Because the declaring the said appeal to be *scram non judice*, and null and void, strikes at and tends to the destruction

tion of the jurisdiction of this house, for Ireland having *omnes et omnimodus curias prout in Anglia*, must include the high court of parliament, and if their high court of parliament, being an exact picture of the high court of parliament in England, cannot judicially hear and determine appeals, writs of error, and impeachments, it may from thence be alleged that this here cannot.

9thly. Because this resolution strikes at and tends to abridge the king's prerogative in Ireland; all appeals and writs of error in parliament being *coram rege in parlamento*, and therefore these words *coram non iudice* takes from the king the judicial power which is given to him there.

10thly. Because the peers of Ireland have little else left them beside their judicature, which if taken away, they will be of little esteem there, and many of the peers of England have some of their titles of honour from that kingdom.

11thly. Because it is the glory of the English laws, and the blessing attending Englishmen, that they have justice administered at their doors, and not to be drawn as formerly to Rome, by appeals which greatly impoverished the nation; and by this order the people of Ireland must be drawn from Ireland hither, whensoever they receive any injustice from the Chancery there, by which means poor men must be trampled upon, not being able to come over to seek for justice.

12thly. The danger of altering, changing; or lessening a constitution, for above five hundred years unshaken, or so much as called in question in any one thing, (the custom and usage of courts being the law of courts) may occasion the destruction of the whole, for the judicial power of the house of peers in Ireland, in criminal causes by way of impeachment or otherwise, may by the same reason be called in question, as their judicature in civil causes, which will encourage evil disposed men, especially those in employment in that kingdom (who are generally very arbitrary) to act wickedly; and the better we preserve the constitution of Ireland, and of those plantations dependant on England, the better we shall preserve our own; and they will be barriers to ours, to prevent any invasion of theirs; and since the Kings of England have in all times in matters relating to their revenue, their grants by letters patent, and their ministers not only empowered the parliament of Ireland to hear, correct, reform and amend them, but also acquiesced in their judgment, it ought not now to be questioned.

13thly.

13thly. Because this taking away the jurisdiction of the lords house in Ireland, may be a means to disquiet the lords there, and disappoint the king's affairs.

14thly. Because the judicial power of the house of peers in Ireland is in no respect altered by an act of parliament, the statute of the 10th of Henry 7, c. 4, called Poyning's law, only directs a new form of passing bills into laws, but alters nothing of the judicial power, and their argument of their having the interpretation of all laws by a judicial power being allowed them, will enable them to make the laws what they please, will as well hold against the jurisdiction of this house, which ought not to be suffered.

Protest of the Irish Lords on the preceding Order.

Die Veneris 11^o Februarii, 1703^o

P R E S E N T.

Lord Chancellor, Speaker.

Lords Spiritual

Lord Archbp. of Armagh,	Lord Bishop of Killalla,
Lord Archbp. of Dublin,	Lord Bishop of Ossory,
Lord Archbp. of Cashel,	Lord Bishop of Limerick,
Lord Archbp. of Tuam,	Lord Bishop of Clogher,
Lord Bishop of Meath,	Lord Bishop of Killalo,
Lord Bishop of Kildare,	Lord Bishop of Raphoe,
Lord Bishop of Kilmore,	Lord Bishop of Downe,
Lord Bishop of Ferns,	Lord Bishop of Cork.

Lords Temporal.

Earl of Roscommon,	Lord Visc. Dungannon,
Earl of Londonderry,	Lord Visc. Charlemont,
Earl of Meath,	Lord Visc. Powerscourt,
Earl of Cavan,	Lord Visc. Lanesborough,
Earl of Inchiquin,	P. Pr. Ld. Visc. Mountjoy,
Earl of Mount Alexander,	Lord Visc. Strabane,
Earl of Longford,	Lord Visc. Doneraile,
Lord Visc. Ely,	Lord Baron of Kerry,
Lord Visc. Skerrin,	Lord Baron of Santry,
Lord Visc. Massareene,	Lord Baron of Shelburne.

Ordered on motion, That the petition of Edward earl of Meath, and Cecilia Countess of Meath, his wife, be read.

Read accordingly.

Ordered on motion, That the clerk of the rolls, do bring into this house, the roll of the acts of parliament of the 8th of Henry VI.

Resolved

Resolved on the question *nem con.* That by the ancient and known laws and statutes of this kingdom, her majesty hath an undoubted jurisdiction and prerogative in this her high court of parliament, in all appeals and causes within this her majesty's realm of Ireland.

Resolved on the question *nem con.* That the determinations and judgments of this high court of parliament are final and conclusive, and cannot be reversed or set aside by any other court whatsoever.

Resolved on the question *nem con.* That if any subject or resident within this kingdom, shall hereafter presume to remove any cause determined in this high court of parliament, to any other court, such person or persons, shall be deemed betrayers of her majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom.

Resolved on the question *nem con.* That if any subject or resident within this kingdom, shall presume to put in execution any order from any other court, contrary to the final judgment and determination of this high court of parliament, such person or persons, shall be deemed betrayers of her majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom, &c.

In the Irish House of Lords, in the year 1703, upon the petition of Edward, then earl of Meath, and Cecilia, countess of Meath, his wife, against the lord Ward, complaining of their having been dispossessed of certain lands in the county of Tipperary, under a pretended order of the house of lords of Great Britain; we find the lords of Ireland*, unanimously adopt the resolutions on the foregoing appeal, in 1698.

On the 12th day of February, 1703, their lordships made the following order:

Whereas, upon hearing the complaint of the right hon. Edward, earl of Meath, and Cecilia, countess of Meath, his wife, exhibited to this house on the 9th of October last, it has appeared upon full proof, that they have been illegally dispossessed of the lands of part of Rochestown, Corruta, Loughloughery, Keating, Milfield, Richardstown alias Richeftown, Cloughnecody, Ardfinane and Faren-English, Rathcordane and Grungill, Gortneerannah, Drumtrasney, Kilmemaun, Gurtinebamagh, and Garriglish, all lying and being

* Jour. House of Lords, fol. 52.

in the county of Tipperary, the actual possession whereof was given them, pursuant to an order of this house, dated the 29th of October 1695: We the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, this 2th day of Feb. 703, do order, require, and command the Sheriff of the said county of Tipperary, for the time being, forthwith to put the said earl and countess of Meath into the actual, quiet and peaceable possession of all the aforesaid lands and premises, as he will answer the contrary at his peril.

From this period until the year 1717, we find the house of Lords of Great Britain did not attempt to interfere with the rights and privileges of the lords and people of this kingdom.

But about the year 1717, that house thought proper once more to endeavour the establishment of their usurped authority, and accordingly entertained an appeal from Maurice Annesly, Esq; against a decision of the lords of Ireland, reversed their decree, and ordered the sheriff of the county of Kildare to restore to Mr. Annesley the possession of certain lands, of which he had been dispossessed by the order of the Irish Lords.

And to enforce this order, the British lords had recourse to the authority of the Barons of the court of Exchequer here, who ordered the Sheriff of Kildare to restore Mr. Annesley to the possession of his lands, according to the order of the Lords of Great Britain.

The sheriff (Alexander Burrowes, Esq;) Hampden-like, refused obedience to this illegal order: the barons endeavoured to enforce it by the imposition of heavy fines; whereupon he petitioned the Irish Lords for relief, which having been referred to a committee of the house, they, on the 28th July, 1719, made the following report, and entered into the following resolutions and proceedings*.

On the 17th of October, 1719, the house proceeded on the order of the day, for reading the representation to his majesty of the proceedings of the house upon the petition of Alex. Burrowes, Esq; in the cause of Sherlock and Annesley †.

And the said representation was read, and agreed to by the house, and is as follows, viz.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble representation of the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled.

* Lords Journals, Vol. II. fol. 621 to 625.

† Ib. 654.

Most gracious Sovereign,

IT is with the greatest concern that we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do find ourselves under a necessity of making this our humble representation to your Majesty.

It evidently appears, by many antient records, and sundry acts of parliament passed in this kingdom, and particularly by one in the 11th of Queen Eliz. intituled, "An act for attainder of Shane O'Neil, &c." that the kings, with all the princes and men of value of the land, did, of their own good wills, and without any war or chivalry, submit themselves to your Majesty's royal ancestor, King Henry II. took oaths of fidelity to him, and became his liege subjects; who (as it is asserted by the Lord Chief Justice Coke and others *) did ordain and command, at the instance of the Irish, that "such laws as he had in England, should be of force and observed in Ireland." By this agreement the people of Ireland obtained the benefit of the English laws, and many privileges, particularly that of having a distinct parliament here, as in England†, and of having weighty and momentous matters, relating to this kingdom, treated of, discussed and determined in the said parliament.

This concession and compact thus made, and afterwards, by succeeding kings, confirmed to the people of this land, in process of time, proved a great encouragement to many of the English to come over and settle themselves in Ireland, where they were to enjoy the same laws and liberties, and live under the like constitution as they had formerly done in the kingdom of England‡; which, thro' God's good providence, has proved a means of securing this kingdom to the crown of England, and we trust will do so to all futurity. By this happy constitution, and these privileges by us for so

* Coke, 4th Inst. p. 349. Matt. Paris, anno 1172, p. 105. † Ib. 350.

‡ Pryn, on 4th Inst. p. 287. Anno 31. Ed. III.

"Rex Justic. &c. Cancellar. suis Hibern. salutem, &c.—Item volumus
" & precipimus quod nostra & ipsius terræ negotia præsertim majora
" & ardua in consiliis perperitos consiliarios nostros ac prælatos, & mag-
" nates, & quosdam de discretioribus et probrioribus hominibus de par-
" tibus vicinis, ubi ipsa consilia teneri contigerit propter hoc evocandos.
" In parliamentis vero, per ipsos consiliarios nostros ac prælatos, & pro-
" cures aliosque de terra prædicta prout nos exigit secundum justitiam,
" legem, consuetudinem & rationem transeuntur, deducantur, & fide-
" liter, timore, favore, odio aut pretio, post positis discutiantur & etiam
" terminentur."

many years enjoyed, the English subjects of this kingdom have been enabled faithfully to discharge their duty to the crown of England, and vigorously set themselves, upon all occasions, to assert the rights thereof, against all the rebellions which have been raised by the Irish enemies. And therefore, we, your Majesty's loyal subjects, do, with all submission to your Majesty, *insist* upon them, and hope, through your Majesty's goodness, to have them preserved inviolable.

And we beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that though the imperial crown of this realm was formerly inseparably annexed to the imperial crown of England, and is now to that of Great-Britain *, yet this kingdom being of itself a distinct dominion, and no part of the kingdom of England, none can determine concerning the affairs thereof, unless authorized thereto, by the known laws and customs of this kingdom, or by the express consent of the king †

And as your royal ancestors have always enjoyed the right and power of determining all matters that related only to this kingdom, by their royal authority, in their parliaments held here, so we humbly hope your Majesty will always look on this right as a most valuable jewel of your crown, which none should presume to touch without your Majesty's consent; and that your Majesty will graciously allow us to represent it, as an invasion of your prerogative, and a grievance to your loyal subjects in this kingdom, that any court of judicature should take upon them to declare, that your Majesty cannot determine all controversies between your subjects of this kingdom, and about matters relating wholly to the same, by your royal authority, in your parliament summoned to meet here; or that your subjects of Ireland appealing to your Majesty in your parliament in Ireland, in matters wholly relating to this kingdom, do bring their cause before an incompetent judicature.

We have (may it please your sacred Majesty) endeavoured with our utmost care, to enquire into the grounds of all such appeals or removals of causes from this kingdom, as have at any time been made into England, and are persuaded that such usages have been introduced by slow degrees, at first the judges here being to determine the causes that came before them by the common laws of England, and sometimes not knowing we'l the usages there, applied to Henry III ‡,

* Anno 2 Eliz. p. 214, c. 5. c. 7. p. 218.

† Coke, 4th Inst. p. 350.

‡ 14th Henry III. stat. Hibern. made at Westminster.

their then king, for information, who gave them an account what the common law and custom of England in like cases was, and this undoubtedly by the advice of the Justices of the King's Bench, who then were obliged to attend the King wherever he should be *; and in process of time, when his successors had settled the court of King's Bench after another manner, and had forborne to sit there themselves in person, the application which formerly used to be made to the King who resided in that court, came of course to be brought before the Justices of the court, although the King was not there personally present. And this, as we conceive, gave rise to that custom of removing causes, by writs of error, from the King's Bench in Ireland to the King's Bench in England; but from hence to infer, that therefore appeals from the Parliament of Ireland may be brought before the House of Peers in England or Great-Britain, is a consequence for which there appears to be no manner of ground.

As for the practice of appealing from the High Court of Chancery in Ireland to the Lords of Great Britain, we can find but two precedents of such appeals before the late happy Revolution, one in 1670, and the other in 1679; and we can account for them no otherwise than by observing, that they happened at a juncture when no opposition could be given them from this kingdom, because through the prevalency of a Popish interest, no parliament had been held here for some years before, nor were we then in any likelihood of having any called here for many years to come; nor can we find, that any like subsequent appeals from that court have any other foundation than those two precedents.

And such appeals (though they had been of longer standing, and better founded) yet were never supposed to preclude the King's Majesty from his right of giving redress to his subjects of Ireland in his parliament, when assembled here, any more than writs of error to the King's Bench in England had hindered the like writs from being returnable in the parliament here.

And accordingly when, by God's blessing on the late happy Revolution, this kingdom came to have a parliament, after twenty-six years intermission, complaints were heard, writs of error and appeals were received, and proper orders were made thereon as formerly; nor were they, as far as we can find, ever questioned, or their validity doubted, till the year 1699, when two appeals from the parliament here were carried be-

* 28th Edward I ch. 5.

fore the Lords in England, though no pleadings to the jurisdiction of the parliament of Ireland had been offered or mentioned by either party, on hearing the said causes here.

And though the parliament of Ireland could not then interpose, or any way assert their jurisdiction, because it was not sitting, yet the Lords of England declared the said causes to be *Coram non Judice*, and without hearing the merits of the causes, reversed the decrees that had been made here.

Upon which occasion, we cannot but observe, that the parliament of Ireland (as the constitution thereof has been for some hundreds of years) being convened by the same authority and writs of summons, and consisting of like members and distinct Houses of Peers and Commons, and the former having the same assistance and attendance from the Judges of the several courts and Masters of Chancery as in England or Great Britain, either some record, act of parliament, or ancient usage must be shewn, whereby to make a difference (which has never yet been attempted) or else, from our very constitution it must, as we conceive, appear, that whatever power of judicature is lodged in the English or British parliament, with respect to that kingdom and its inferior courts, the same must also be allowed to be in the parliament of Ireland, with like respect to the kingdom and courts thereof. And if it be looked upon as illegal for any inferior court in Great Britain to act in direct opposition to, or contempt of the orders and decrees of the House of Lords in parliament there assembled, the same must also be concluded upon the like opposition given, or contempt shewn, to such parliamentary orders and decrees, as are or shall be made within this kingdom.

And therefore, in the year 1703, when a parliament of Ireland met on a complaint of Edward, Earl of Meath, and Cecilia, Countess of Meath, his wife, setting forth, that during the interval of parliament they had, by order of the Lords in England, been dispossessed of the lands that had been here decreed them, the said parliament *unanimously* restored the said Earl and Countess to the lands they had been so dispossessed of so effectually, that neither they nor their heirs have been disturbed in the possession of them.

And we may very justly conclude, from the strong resolutions in which the parliament here did on that occasion assert their jurisdiction, that they would have proceeded as effectually in vindicating the decree on the other appeal, if the removal of the Lord Bishop of Derry, the appellant here, and a com-
position

position made by his successor with the Irish society of Londonderry, the appellants in England, had not prevented it.

After the time of these two appeals, several writs of error and appeals were brought into your parliament in this kingdom, and among them an appeal wherein Maurice Annesley, Esq; was respondent, which were determined, and the judgment given on them took effect accordingly. But the same Maurice Annesley being respondent in an appeal brought lately from the Chancery of the Exchequer, before the parliament of Ireland, by Hester Sherlock, appellant, after having appeared to the jurisdiction here, appealed to the Lords of Great Britain, from a decree made here in justice to the appellant Hester Sherlock, and found such countenance there, as has given your loyal subjects just reason to complain of much injury done both to your Majesty's prerogative and their privileges.

For it having (after a full and fair hearing) been decreed in your Majesty's parliament of Ireland, and accordingly ordered, that the appellant, Hester Sherlock, should be put into possession of certain lands in the said order named, until she should receive thereout a certain sum of money to her decreed, to be due and chargeable on the said lands. And the said decree and order having accordingly been obeyed, and put in execution by the then High Sheriff of the county of Kildare, to whom the said order was directed; and the said Hester Sherlock being accordingly in the actual possession of the said lands, the Lord Chief Baron, together with the other Barons of your Majesty's court of Exchequer in this kingdom, have taken upon them, in an illegal and unprecedented manner, to cause the said Hester Sherlock to be dispossessed of the said lands, and to lay several great fines upon the late High Sheriff of the said county of Kildare, for refusing to give obedience unto the orders of them, the said Barons, in that case issued, although their said orders were manifestly contrary to the laws, customs, and antient usages, of this your Majesty's kingdom, as well as to the above-mentioned resolutions formerly made in the case of the late Earl of Meath, and continuing upon record in the journals of parliament, of which resolutions, as well as of the several resolutions and decrees in like manner made upon the appeal of the said Hester Sherlock, the said Barons had sufficient and timely notice before the issuing of any of their above-mentioned illegal orders, as in a report of this whole proceeding, now also entered in the Journals of parliament (a copy where-
of

of we herewith humbly lay before your Majesty) may more fully and at large appear.

Hereupon we humbly crave leave to represent unto your Majesty, that although appeals from the courts of equity in this kingdom to the Lords of England or Great Britain, are but a very late practice, (as we have already set forth); yet in all such cases, it has been the constant and received practice here, that no copy of any order of the said Lords was ever allowed, or demanded to be allowed, as authentic in any such court, except the same were expressly directed unto the court which was to put the same in execution, and proved by a witness *viva voce*, upon oath, to be a true copy of the original order. Nor does it appear, that any such court ever claimed, or pretended to any authority, to supply any defects supposed at any time to be in any such order, or by virtue of such order in the least to go beyond what expressly and in words was in such order contained. And yet so it is, that although the only pretence of the said Barons for these their illegal proceedings, is grounded upon certain copies of orders, or pretended orders, from the Lords of Great Britain, yet neither were the said orders, or any of them, directed to the Court of Equity or Chancery-side of the Exchequer, (where the cause originally lay, and from whence the appeal was) but only to the Lord Chief Baron and other Barons, which is the stile of the common law-side thereof; nor were the said copies, or any of them, in manner aforesaid proved to agree with the original orders; neither were the names of any lands, or so much as of any county, inserted in the said copies, or any of them. And yet notwithstanding all these notorious defects and nullities of the said pretended orders, the said Barons have proceeded not only in their own names, to whom the said pretended orders were directed, but also in the names of the Chancellor and Treasurer of the court of Exchequer, (to whom the said orders were no way directed) to issue forth several injunctions and orders, and therein, without any warrant for so doing, to insert the names of lands, and of the county wherein they are supposed to lie, in order to dispossess the said Hester Sherlock of lands whereof she had been put into possession, as is herein above-mentioned.

And that your Majesty may be yet more fully apprised of the arbitrariness as well as the illegality of the proceedings of the said Barons, We further, in all humble manner, lay before your Majesty, that whereas, amongst other rules of practice in all your Majesty's courts throughout this your kingdom,

dom, by ancient law and custom established, it is universally received, that every order or other rule of court ought to be made upon the motion of some Counsel or Attorney, or other person by law or custom allowed to make such motion; that no injunction or writ, ought to issue out of any of your Majesty's courts, (except in the crown's cause) without the name of a Six Clerk or Attorney, thereunto subscribed, who is to be accountable unto every person, who through any undue practice of his, shall be aggrieved by such writ or injunction), and that no proceedings shall be grounded upon any written affidavit, which is known to be either false, or defective in any material part thereof, (except such defect be first supplied or falsity expunged), the said Barons in these their proceedings, have acted in open violation of these, as well as other rules, which by the law they ought to have observed and strictly kept to. The Barons having ordered an injunction to issue for the dispossessing of the said Hester Sherlock, without any motion for the same made either by Counsel or Attorney, or by any other person, except what was offered in court by the said Lord Chief Baron himself; the said injunction, also, having no name of any Attorney thereunto affixed or subscribed; and the affidavit of John Annesley (upon which the said Barons afterwards proceeded to fine the said late High Sheriff) having several notorious falsities in it, of which, though the said Barons were publicly advertised at the time when the said affidavit was read in open court, yet, they took on them to act thereupon, without causing the same to be rectified, or the said falsities to be expunged or altered.

And, although the said orders from the Lords in Great Britain expressly required no more, but that Maurice Annesley should be restored to the possession of those lands, of which the said Maurice was dispossessed, pending the appeal before the said house; yet, the said Barons in their said injunction, not only ordered possession of certain lands by name, to be given to the said Annesley, as is already mentioned, but also, grounded this their injunction upon an affidavit, wherein it is not so much as alledged that the said Maurice was at all possessed or dispossessed of any lands whatsoever pending the said appeal.

And whereas it is the duty of the Barons of your Majesty's Court of Exchequer in this kingdom, and a part of the oath by each of them taken at their entrance upon their said office,
 " That where they may know any wrong or prejudice to be
 " done to the King, they shall put and do all their diligence
 " that

“ that to redress. And if they may not do it, they shall
“ tell it to the king, or them of his council, or to the King’s
“ Majesty’s Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Govern-
“ nors of this Realm for the time being.” So far have the
said Barons in the present case been from doing all their dili-
gence to redress the wrong or prejudice done to your Ma-
jesty’s prerogative, of finally determining in your parliament
here, matters relating wholly to this your kingdom, that
they seem to have acted with great diligence and zeal in direct
opposition thereto, and to have taken such measures as will,
in effect, establish a jurisdiction superior to that which your
Majesty undoubtedly has in your High Court of Parliament
in this kingdom; nor does it in the least appear, or is it at all
pretended, that the said Barons, or any of them, during all
the abovementioned proceedings, did ever tell, or make known
the same, either to your Majesty’s Lieutenant, or other Chief
Governor or Governors, or to your Majesty’s Privy Council,
who, if they had been timely acquainted therewith, might
(according to their duty) have made the same known to your
Majesty, or otherwise have done what was fit and proper for
the supporting your Majesty’s royal prerogative, and defend-
ing the just rights and privileges of this your Parliament and
People.

And here we beg leave to lay before your Majesty some of
the many evil consequences which we apprehend must neces-
sarily follow from such exorbitant practices as these, if a timely,
and effectual stop be not put to them.

It is the right and happiness of the subjects of this king-
dom, as well as of those of Great Britain, that by their respec-
tive constitutions, the administration of justice is near at
hand, and within the kingdom whereunto they belong. So
that if any of your Majesty’s liege people are at any time
wronged or oppressed in any of the courts of law or equity,
they may, without any great trouble or expence, have recourse
to your Majesty, in your high Court of Parliament, where
they may assure themselves of speedy redress. But if this
your Majesty’s Highest Court within this kingdom is deprived
of the power of finally determining the causes which come
before them, all such of your subjects as do not abound in
wealth, and thereby are not able to follow their causes, or
bear the expence of them in Great Britain, will be under a
perpetual necessity of sitting down with the greatest wrong or
oppression which at any time, under the colour of justice, or
by the management of rich and potent adversaries may be
laid upon them, which (considering the poverty that every
where

where prevails throughout this kingdom) must, if not prevented in a short time, become a most grievous and intolerable evil. And your Majesty's royal predecessor, Edward the III. was so sensible of the hardships that his loyal subjects of this kingdom suffered for want of having a means of reversing erroneous judgments within this kingdom, that by his Charter, dated August 30th, in the 29th year of his reign, on the complaint of his subjects of Ireland, " he commanded all his Judges and Ministers before whom any processes should be held at the prosecution of the parties aggrieved, " to return the Rolls of the Records, and processes into the " Parliaments to be held in the kingdom of Ireland, and " that the Records and Processes should be recited and " examined, and the errors (if any should be found in them) " duly corrected. *

It is, under God, the great security of this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, that by the laws and statutes thereof, the same is annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of England, and declared to be depending upon, and for ever

* Pryn, on 4th Inst. pag. 236. Anno 29 Edw. III. " Edwardus Dei " gratia, &c. Ex parte non nullorum fidelium nostrorum communitatis " terræ nostræ Hiberniæ: nobis est graviter conquerendo monstratum " ut cum ipsi damna & gravamina quam plurima a magno tempore sustinuerint ex hoc; et etiam ex hoc, quod errores qui in Recordis & " Processibus placitorum nec in Parliamentis in eadem terra corrigi " nequeunt, nec alias justitia inde fieri sine remedia in Anglia querendo " propter quod quidem propter labores & expensas circa præmissa appositiones ad maximam miseriam & inopiam deducuntur; & quidam omnino " ex hæredati existunt, per quod pro quiete & indemnitate populi nostri " in terra prædicta, sub nostro regimine existentis cui in exhibitione " justitiæ sumus debitores: Ordinamus quod, &c. et quod ad prosecutionem omnium & singulorum qui conqueri voluerint errores in Recordis " & Processibus coram aliquibus justic. seu aliis ministris prædictis habitis " intervenisse Rotuli eorundem Recordorum & Processuum in Parliamentis nostris in eadem terra tenend. per justic. seu ministros coram quibus " Recorda & Processus illa fuerint deferantur & ibidem eadem Recorda " & Processus diligentur recitenter & examinentur; & errores, si quos " in eisdem inveniri contigerit debite corrigantur; & ideo vobis mandamus quod ordinationem prædictam in terra nostra prædicta teneri & " partibus conquerentibus plenam & celerem justitiam fieri fac. in forma " prædicta quibuscunque mandatis vobis aut aliis in terra prædicta ante " hæc tempora in contrarium directis non obstantibus ita quod aliquis " materiam non habeat nobis pro defectu justitiæ super casibus prædictis " de cætero conquerendi. Teste apud Westminster, 30 die Augusti."

It appears from the latter end of this Record, that the original power of Parliaments in Ireland, settled by King Henry the Second, (as is above set forth) had afterwards been restrained, as to writs of error, by some subsequent Mandates of the Kings of England, which Mandates are hereby recalled and made void.

belonging

belonging to the same: but if all judgments, decrees, and determinations made in this your Majesty's High Court, within this your kingdom, are subject to be nulled and reversed by the Lords in Great Britain, the liberties and properties of all your subjects of Ireland must thereby become finally dependant on the British Peers, to the great diminution of that dependence which by law we always ought to have immediately upon the Crown itself.

That your Majesty has, by the constitution of this your realm of Ireland, the full power of judging and determining all causes that belong to it alone in Pleno Parlamento, is what no man hitherto has ventured openly to deny or doubt of.

But if in all cases that relate to this kingdom, the *dernier resort*, (as some of late have affected to speak) ought to be to the House of Lords in Great Britain, however this your Majesty's power may still in words be acknowledged, the force and effect of it is in reality taken away and wholly vested in the British Peers.

And we cannot but observe, with the utmost concern, that by this practice of the Peers of Great Britain, just and unjust causes will meet with equal encouragement. For however rightly such causes may be determined in Parliament here, the decrees will be annulled and reversed by the Peers of Great Britain, without hearing or entering into the merits of the cause, upon pretence that the proceedings were *Coram non Judice*.

The writs for summoning the Lords spiritual and temporal, and electing the Commons to assemble in parliament here, being the very same with those in England or Great-Britain, as has been before observed, either the respective powers in each kingdom must still be the same, or else the Peerage of this your Majesty's kingdom must remain little more than an empty title, and the Commons thereof stand for ever deprived of that most valuable privilege of impeaching in parliament, which cannot possibly be maintained if there be no such thing as a parliamentary judicature within this realm; and if the power of the judicature may, by a vote of the British Lords, be taken away from the Parliament of Ireland, no reason can be given why the same may not, in like manner, deprive us of the benefit of our whole constitution.

It is notorious, that the Lords of Great Britain have not, in themselves, either by law or custom, any way of putting their decrees in execution within this kingdom, of which they

have given most undoubted evidence by their late application to your Majesty, to cause such their decrees to be executed by an extraordinary interposition of your royal power. And should your Majesty think fit to yield to this their desire, we humbly presume to think it would highly affect the liberty of your Majesty's loyal subjects of this kingdom.

In order to prevent the appellant, Hester Sherlock, above-mentioned, from making any further application to your Parliament here, your Majesty's Deputy-receiver, John Pratt, Esq; thought fit to pay above £1800 to the said Hester Sherlock, which, on examination, he alleged to be his own money; and that he made an agreement with the said Hester, of himself, without any order from any person whatsoever; but that from some conversation which he had with persons of judgment, he thought he had reason to hope and expect, that since what he had done was for the public good, the government would not permit him to be a sufferer. What particular grounds the said John Pratt had thus to hope and expect, has not as yet been made known to us. But if such hopes and expectations as these are from time to time to be satisfied; we leave your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, to judge what the evil consequences thereof may be.

And we farther humbly represent to your Majesty, that these proceedings of the Lords of England have greatly embarrassed your Parliament, and disquieted the generality of your most loyal Protestant subjects of this your kingdom, and must, of necessity, bring all sheriffs and officers of justice under great hardships, by reason of the clashing of different jurisdictions. Nor can we but with grief observe, that whilst many of the Peers and commons who sat in Parliament were Papists, their judicature was never questioned; but of late, since only Protestants are qualified to have a share in the legislature, their power, and the right of hearing causes in Parliament, hath been denied, to the great discouragement and weakening of the Protestant interest in Ireland.

And having thus, with all humility, laid before your Majesty your undoubted power and prerogative within this your kingdom of Ireland, the immediate dependence of the same upon your Majesty's crown, the right your Majesty has to hold Parliaments here, as in Great-Britain, and of finally determining therein all matters that wholly relate to this realm, together with the great incroachments that of late have been made upon your Majesty's prerogative, and the rights of this your Parliament, and the illegal unprecedented proceedings

of the Lord Chief Baron, and the other Barons of your Majesty's Court of Exchequer, whereby they have endeavoured to support those encroachments with the evil consequences of such proceedings, in case that a speedy and effectual stop be not thereunto put. We most humbly hope, that all these things being duly considered and weighed with your Majesty's usual wisdom, will abundantly justify us in the methods we have taken, as well for the supporting of your Majesty's royal prerogative, as the preservation of the just rights and liberties of ourselves and our fellow subjects, as the same are set forth in the several resolutions we have come to, (a copy whereof we have hereunto annexed,) with all humility assuring your Majesty, that no difficulties which we may be laid under, shall hinder us from giving the utmost dispatch to all your Majesty's affairs, or from most cheerfully demonstrating that loyalty and affection to your Majesty's person, and attachment to your interest, which becomes your Majesty's dutiful and obedient subjects, whereof we again, from our hearts, make an humble tender to your most sacred Majesty.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up an humble Address to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to desire his Grace to lay the said Representation before his Majesty, in the best and most effectual manner.

The Declaratory Act of the 6th of George I. was formed in consequence of these appeals, which statute expressly declares, " That the kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparately united and annexed thereunto, and that the King, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, hath power to make laws of sufficient force to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

“ And that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor ought of right to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such judgment or decree, are void.”



It is presumed that no political casuist, after a view of the foregoing pages, will affect to talk of England's title to Ireland by *conquest*.

The titles of the Kings of England to this kingdom appear to have been very precarious, even to Henry VIII. as the very act which constitutes him King of Ireland, expressly

precisely says "That the Irishmen and inhabitants of this realm of Ireland, have not bene so obedient to the Kings highnesse and his most noble progenitors, and to their lawes, as they of right and according to their allegiance and bounden duties ought to have been*. Wherefore at the humble pursuit, &c." Besides, what are all the papers in Bermingham and London Tower, but attempts to soothe, soften, bribe and tame, by indulgence and art, the spirit of Irish independence? What parties, divisions, hatred, and animosities among the clergy! sometimes acknowledging the power of the King, sometimes the Pope's, and at others disavowing both! one time fomenting insurrections, and at others attempting to quell them. Pryn has preserved us a number of these transactions †, horrid picture of ecclesiastical tyranny, from which we are now, thank heaven, happily delivered! horrid picture of the ministers of that gospel, *which preaches peace on earth, and good will to all men!* pious ministers, indeed! whose feet, instead of being shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, were rather swift to shed blood!

Richard II. in person invaded this kingdom, for the purpose of subjugating it: Howes gives us the number of his forces, and the lines following their fate.

Richard was at length prevailed on to march against the enemy commanded by Art Mac-Murchad, who, notwithstanding the pensions he had received, and the submissions he had lately made, was still the inveterate enemy of the English; and in the violence of national pride, enflamed by the

* The following anecdote shews the high ideas entertained by the Irish dynasts, of their own independence and dignity.

Mac-Gillpatrick, the Irish chieftain of Ossory, had received some injury from the earl of Ormond, or at least found some pretence of complaint against the present deputy, better known among the Irish by the name of *Piers the Red*. In all the dignity of offended grandeur, he determined to apply to the king of England for redress; but not with the humility of a suppliant or a subject. His ambassador was sent to the court of England to obtain justice, or else to denounce the vengeance of an injured potentate. He appeared at the chapel door, when the king was going to his devotions, and advancing with a composed undimmed gravity of deportment, delivered his commission in these words—"Stā pedibus! Domine Rex! Dominus meus Gillapatricius me misit ad te " iussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te." Stand on your feet! lord King! my lord Gillpatrick has sent me to tell you, that if you do not chastise Peter Rufus, he himself will make war against you.

† II Vol. Eccl. Jur. p. 372, 373, 378, 382, 393, 397, 422, 423, 458, 474, 475, 480, 481, 482, 559, 603, 616, 632, 633, 634, 635, 690, 719, 735, 756, 768, 784, 807, 808, 810, 827, 828, 857, 858, 859, 957, 939, 956, 990, &c. &c.

prospect of success, vowed the most desperate vengeance against his invaders. To secure himself from the superiour numbers of the enemy he retired to his woods; and at their approach, appeared at the head of three thousand men so well armed and appointed, and with such an appearance of determined valour, as were perfectly astonishing to the English, who had been taught to despise their rude and undisciplined violence. The royal army was drawn out in order of battle, expecting a vigorous attack; but the Irish forces, who thought of nothing less than a regular engagement in the field, suddenly disappeared; and Richard, elevated by this retreat, ordered the adjacent villages and houses to be set on fire, and the royal standard to be advanced, under which he created several knights, and among these the young Lord Henry the fifth, who on this occasion gave the first proofs of his distinguished valour.

To facilitate the pursuit of an enemy who appeared to fly, a large body of peasants was employed to open a passage through the woods, which the Irish had by every means endeavoured to render impassable. As the king's army marched through all the difficulties of an encumbered road, perpetually impeded, and sometimes plunged into deep and dangerous morasses, the enemy frequently assailed them with loud and barbarous ululations; cast their darts with such force as no armour could withstand, slaughtered their detached parties, retired, and advanced with astonishing agility, so as continually to annoy and harass the English forces, though they could not be brought to a general engagement. Some of the Irish lords, less penetrating than their subtle chieftain, and among those his uncle, were indeed terrified by the numbers of the king's forces, and with all the marks of humiliation submitted to Richard. They appeared before him with halters round their necks, fell at his feet, imploring peace and forgiveness, and were graciously received. Art Mac-Murchad was summoned to make the like submissions; and, to prevail upon him to accept of grace, and return to his allegiance, Richard was weak enough to promise large rewards, territories, and castles in Leinster. The Irishman, who well knew the difficulties to which the King's army was reduced, and the impossibility of their subsisting for any time in their present situation, returned a haughty answer of defiance, and declared his resolution of opposing the King of England to the utmost. Richard had the mortification to find, that the distress of his soldiery, which had encouraged the adversary to this insolence, could

could no longer be concealed, and every day grew more intolerable. Numbers of his men perished by famine; their horses, from want and severity, grew incapable of service; a general gloom spread through his camp, and his bravest Knights murmured at their fate, who were to perish in a service attended with so little honour, and such severe distress. A few ships laden with provisions from Dublin having landed on the neighbouring coast, the famished soldiers plunged into the sea, seized and rifled them, shedding each others blood in a furious contest for relief. The necessity of decamping was too apparent, and too urgent to admit of the least delay. Richard, with his numerous forces, was compelled to retire before an inconsiderable band of enemies whom he had despised, who pursued, and incessantly harraressed him in his retreat*.

It is universally acknowledged, that no prince ever brought into this kingdom such an army as Richard II. for reducing it, and we see he did not succeed therein †.

After reading this account, I know not how it can be said that the Irish chieftains submitted to Henry II. ‡ through fear, an affection they appear not to be much influenced by; the most probable causes for this transaction was pride, malice, and, above all, the hopes of revenging public and private insults, or supposed insults, to the impressions of which they were exceedingly susceptible; to this assertion the following letter and answer, which passed in the 14th century, authenticated by Cox, will bear no inconsiderable testimony.

O'Nial to O'Donnell.

“ Pay me your tribute, or if you don't”——

O'NIAL.

O'Donnell to O'Nial.

“ I owe you no tribute, and if I did”——

O'DONNELL.

The strength of the kingdom thus divided at first, became an easy prey to every invader.

* Story of Richard II. his last being in Ireland. By the Earl of Tothness.

† It is not in memory, that ever any king of England made such provision for any journey into Ireland, nor such a number of men of arms nor archers. HOWES.

‡ Henry II. brought with him into this kingdom a train of 500 Knights, the Kings of the land, &c. of *their own good wills*, without any war or chivalry, submitted and took oaths of fidelity to him:

Parliam. debates, vol. 7, p. 274, &c.

To this cause was owing the first invasion of Greece by Darius with a numerous and mighty army, the destruction of which, by the few intrepid troops of the Athenians, will ever be remembered.

The following are the three principal charges brought against the earl of Strafford by Mr. St. John, which plainly shew that he did not consider Ireland as a *conquered nation*.

1. There at Dublyn, the principal city of that kingdome whither the subjects of that country came for justice, in an assembly of Peeres and others of greatest ranke, upon occasion of a speech of the Recorder of that city thouching their Franchises and legal rights, he tels them, that *Ireland was a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them what he pleased*.

2. Not long after, in the *parliament 10 Car.* in the chaire of state, in full parliament againe, That *they were a conquered nation, and that they were to expect laws as from a conqueror; before the King might do with them what he would; now, they were to expect it, that he would put this power of a conqueror in execution*.

3. Upon like occasion of pressing the lawes and statutes, that he would make *an act of counsell board in that kingdom binding as an act of parliament*.

My Lords, continued he, I have done with the three treasons within the stat. of 25 Ed. III.



From a perusal of the collections of Pryn *, Rymer, &c. it will plainly appear that the Monarchs of England paid every attention to the welfare of their subjects in this kingdom till Char. time. Henry II. we see gave them a *Modus tenendi Parliamenta*, in the same terms with that of England, and considering it as a *distinct kingdom*, settled it on his son John for an appenage, who confirmed to the Irish, by charter, his father's grant of the *Common Law* of England, and a free parliament with immunities to the city of Dublin † and Waterford ‡, even beyond those of London, which Henry VI. farther confirmed. Henry III. granted us a *Magna Charta*.

In the fifth of Edward I. the English laws were confirmed to the Irish §.

* Animad. p. 3, 11, 50, 59, 60, 111, 120, 121, 123, 127, 143, 415, 146, 160, 229, 248, 250, 254 to 322, 408 to 414. See also index to 4 Inst. under Ireland.

† Charta Johanni regis Angl. et dom. Hibern. civib. Dub. facta 30 die Julii reg. 17. Ex lib. nig. eccl. S. Trin. Dub. A. D. 1214.

‡ Pat. 9, Hen. VI. No. 7.

§ De legibus Anglicanis Hibernis concedendis ex bundella literarum in Turr. Lond. Pryn, tom. 3, p. 1218.

The statutes of force in England, which, in the time of Edward II. were referred to be examined in the next parliament, so many as were then allowed and published to stand likewise for laws in this kingdom *.

Edward III. ordained that the affairs of the land (Ireland), especially the weightiest, should be handled, discussed, and determined by the Prelates, Nobles, and other discreet men of the King's Council there; and by his Council, Prelates, and others in parliaments according to justice, law, custom, reason, &c †.

Richard III. on usurping the English crown, expressed these words: "From this moment, I take upon me the government of the two kingdoms of *England* and *France*; the former to be governed and defended; and the latter, by God's help, and my peoples' assistance, to be subdued." That he in no wise considered Ireland as annexed to that crown, which certainly at this time was a separate and distinct nation, wherein the state of *England* had not leisure or abilities to bring about a reformation, till their own civil dissensions were appeased.

The Declaratory Act in the reign of Henry IV. expressly says, "That English statutes bind not, unless retracted here ‡," and the similar one of Henry VI. speaks its attention to this great object; in the 18 of Henry VI. cessing of horse or foot upon the King's subjects here is made treason; even the act of Poyning in the time was intended as salutary to the subject, as may appear from the following copy of it.

An act that no Parliament be holden in this land, until the acts be certified into England.

Item, At the request of the Commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted and established, That at the next parliament that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and licence, wherein amongst other the king's grace intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues fith the last day of the reign of King Edward II. no parliament hereafter be holden in the said land but at such season as the king's lieutenant and counsaile there first do certifie the king under the great seale of that lande the causes and considerations, and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations and acts

* See marginal note of Sir Richard Bolton, in his edit. of the Irish statutes. See also, Pryn 264, 265, 266. An. 20, Edw. 2.

† Pat. stat. 31 Edw. III. m. 11, 12, exemplified likewise in Pat. 17 R. 2, m. 34. See likewise Rylye's appendix, p. 582, &c. Pryn 287.

‡ See p. lxxxvii of these Facts.

affirmed by the king and his counsaile to be good *and expedient for that land*, and his license thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained, that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed, and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in Law.

Ir. Stat. 28 H. 8. cap. 4 & 20. 11 El. cap. 1 and 8.

In the Irish act passed 28 Henry VIII. it is fully asserted, and enacted, “ That the said *English* act, and every thing and things therein contained, shall be established, affirmed, taken; obeyed, and accepted within this land of *Ireland*, as good and perfect law, and shall be within the said land of the same force, effect, quality, condition, strength and virtue to all purposes and intents, as it is within the realm of *England*, and that all subjects and residents within this said land of *Ireland*, shall observe, keep, obey, accomplish and execute the effects and contents specified in the said *English* act, and shall have and enjoy the profit and commodity of the same; as the *English* subjects are thereby bound, or intitled, &c.”

Notwithstanding that it is allowed, that there were a few English statutes restraining our commerce before 1663*, yet they appear to have been so little felt, that our commercial restriction may properly be said to have commenced at the foregoing period, when an English act was formed to prevent exportation from Ireland to the English Colonies, and in 1670, another act was made to prevent importation from thence.

Let the histories of both kingdoms †, and the statute-books of both parliaments be examined, and no precedent will be found for the act of 1699 ‡, or for the system which it introduced.

The whole tenor of the English statutes relative to the trade of this country, and which by our act of the 10th of Henry VII. became a part of our commercial constitution, breath a spirit totally repugnant to the principle of that law, and it

* Stat. Hib. 14 Hen. III. Ordin. Irish stat. Hib. 17 Edw. I. 2 Hen. VI. &c.

† Commer. Restr.

‡ When the act passed in England restraining the exportation of all woollen manufactures from Ireland, which was then the source of industry in that kingdom, and the discouragement of them, the principal cause of her distress, the encouragement of the linen manufacture was not an equivalent at this time, and if it was, has long since ceased to be so.

is therefore with the utmost deference submitted to those who have the power to decide, whether this law was agreeable to the commercial constitution of Ireland, which for 500 years has never produced a similar instance.

It might be naturally supposed, by a person not versed in our story, that in the seventeenth century * there had been some offence given, or some demerit on our part. He would be surprized to hear, that during this period our loyalty had been exemplary, and our sufferings on that account great. In 1641, great numbers of the protestants of Ireland were destroyed, and many of them were deprived of their property, and driven out of their country from their attachment

* 6 Geo. I. cap. 21. sect. 49. If any tobacco entered out for foreign parts and exported, shall afterwards be landed in *Ireland*, the same and double the drawback shall be forfeited, and every debenture for the drawback shall become void, as if the tobacco were relanded in *Great Britain*; which forfeitures may be recovered in any of the courts of record of *Westminster* or *Dublin*, or in the Exchequer of *Scotland*.

Brit. stat. 5 Geo. I. No wrought silks, Bengals, stuffs mixed with silk and herba, or muslins or other callicoës, of the manufacture of *Persia*, *China*, or *East India*, shall be imported into *Ireland*, from any place other than *Great Britain*, on forfeiture of the goods or value thereof, as also of the ship, with all her guns and tackle, &c. &c.

Brit. stat. 6 Geo. I. cap. 21. § 52. Where any ship or vessel of the burthen of fifty tons or under, laden with customable or prohibited goods, shall be found at anchor, or hovering on the coasts of *Ireland*, within two leagues of the shore, and not proceeding on her voyage (wind and weather permitting), it shall be lawful for any Officer of his Majesty's customs of that kingdom, to go on board every such ship, &c.—The *British* parliament regulating his Majesty's customs in *Ireland*! It is but a step, one small step, from the regulation of revenue to the imposition of taxes.—See the remainder of that section, and also the following one. The stat. 11 & 12 W. III. cap. 7; 4 Geo. I. cap. 11. § 7; and 8 Geo. I. cap. 24. for the punishment of piracies.—And 2 Geo. II. cap. 28. 19 Geo. II. cap. 12. sect. 23. no person shall import into *Ireland* any crown plate, flint, or white glass; or any common bottles, or other green glass; or glass of any kind or denomination, other than the manufacture of *Great Britain*. And if any kind of glass, other than the manufacture of *Great Britain*, shall be landed out of any vessel in *Ireland*, it shall be forfeited and destroyed within ten days after condemnation thereof; and the vessel also, with her tackle and furniture, &c. shall be forfeited; and the master of the vessel, and every other person concerned in importing or landing the same, shall forfeit ten shillings for every pound weight thereof, and so in proportion for any quantity.

7 Geo. II. cap. 19. If any foreign hops, other than of *British* growth, shall be landed in *Ireland*, all such hops shall be forfeited and burnt within ten days after the same shall be lawfully condemned; and the persons concerned in importing of the same, or that shall have assisted in landing the same, shall forfeit five shillings for every pound weight thereof.

to the English government in this kingdom, and to that religion and constitution which they happily enjoyed under it. At the Revolution they were constant in the same principles, and successfully staked their lives and properties against domestic and foreign enemies, in support of the rights of the English crown, and of the religious and civil liberties of Britain and of Ireland. They bravely shared with her in all her dangers, and liberally partook of all her adversities. Whatever were their rights, they had forfeited none of them. Whatever favours they enjoyed, they had new claims, from their merit and their sufferings, to a continuance of them. They now wanted more than ever the care of that fostering hand, which by rescuing them twice from oppression (obligations never to be forgotten by the protestants of Ireland) established the liberties, confirmed the strength, and raised the glory of the British Empire.

Besides our exclusion from foreign markets, England had two objects in the discouragement of our woollen trade.

It was intended that Ireland should send her wool to England, and take from that country her woollen manufactures *. It has been already shewn that the first object has not been attained; the second has been carried so far as, for the future, to defeat its own purpose. Whilst our own manufacturers were starving for want of employment, and our wool sold for less than one half of its usual price, we have imported from England in the years 1777 and 1778 woollen goods to the enormous amount of 715,740l. 13s. 6d. as valued at our custom-house, and of the manufactures of linen, cotton and silk mixed, to the amount of 98,086l. 1s. 11d. making in the whole in those two years of distress 813,826l. 14s. 11d. Between 20 and 30,000 of our manufacturers in those branches were, in those two years, supported by public charity. From this fact it is hoped, that every reasonable man will allow the necessity of using our own manufactures. Agreements

* The commissioners of trade, in their representation, dated the 11th of November, 1697, relating to the trade between England and Ireland, advise a duty to be laid upon the importation of oil, upon teasles, whether imported or growing there, and upon *all the utensils* employed in the making any woollen manufactures; on the utensils of worsted-combers, and particularly a duty by the yard upon all cloth and woollen stuffs, except frizes, before they are taken off the loom. Eng. Com. Journ. 12 v. 426.

among our people for this purpose are not, as it has been supposed, a new idea in this country. It was never so universal as at present, but has been frequently resorted to in times of distress. In the sessions of 1703, 1705 and 1707*, the House of Commons resolved unanimously, That it would greatly conduce to the relief of the poor and the good of the kingdom; that the inhabitants thereof should use none other but the manufactures of this kingdom in their apparel and the furniture of their houses; and in the last of those sessions the members engaged their honours to each other, that they would conform to the said resolution. The not importing goods from England, is one of the remedies recommended by the council of trade in 1676, for alleviating some distress that was felt at that time†; and Sir William Temple, a zealous friend to the trade and manufactures of England, recommends to Lord Essex, then Lord Lieutenant, “to introduce, as far as can be, a vein of parsimony throughout the country, in all things that are not perfectly the native growths and manufactures‡.”

The English law § of 1663, restraining the exportation from Ireland to America, was at that time, and for some years after, scarcely felt in this kingdom, which had then little to export, except live cattle; not proper for so distant a market.

The act of settlement passed in Ireland the year before this restrictive law, and the explanatory statute for the settlement of this kingdom, was not enacted until two years after. The country continued for a considerable time in a state of litigation, which is never favourable to industry. In 1661 the people must have been poor; the number of them of all degrees, who paid poll money in that year was about 360,000 §. In 1672, when the country had greatly improved, the manufacture bestowed upon a year's exportation from Ireland, did not exceed eight thousand pounds**, and the clothing trade had not then arrived to what it had been before the last rebellion. But still the kingdom had much increased in wealth, tho' not in manufactured exports. The customs which set in 1656 for 12,000l. yearly, were in 1672 worth 80,000l. †† yearly, and the improvement in domestic wealth, that is to say, in

* Com. Journ. 3 vol. 348, 548.

† Sir W. Petty's Political Survey, 312.

‡ Sir W. Temple, 3 v. 11.

§ Ib. 9. and 110.

§ Sir W. Petty, p. 9.

** 15 Ch. II.

†† Ib. 89.

building, planting, furniture, coaches, &c. is said to have advanced from 1652 to 1673 in a proportion of from one to four, Sir William Petty in the year 1672 complains not of the restraints on the exportation from Ireland to America *, but of the prohibition of exporting our cattle to England, and of our being obliged to unlade in that kingdom † the ships bound from America to Ireland ; the latter regulation he considers as highly prejudicial to this country.

The immediate object of Ireland at this time, seems to have been to get materials to employ her people at home without thinking of foreign exportations. When we advanced in the export of our woollen goods, the law of 1663 ‡, which excluded them from the American markets, must have been a great loss to this kingdom ; and after we were allowed to export our linens to the British colonies in America, the restraints imposed by the law of 1670 upon our importations from thence became more prejudicial, and will be much more so if ever the late extension of our exports to America should, under those restraints, have any effect ; for it is certainly a great discouragement to the carrying on trade with any country, where we are allowed only to sell our manufactures and produce, but are not permitted to carry from them directly to our own country their principal manufactures or produce. The people to whom we are thus permitted to sell, want the principal inducement for dealing with us, and the great spring of commerce, which is mutual exchange, is wanting between us.

As the British legislature has thought it reasonable to extend, in a very considerable degree, our exportation to their colonies, and has doubtless intended that this favour should be useful to Ireland, it is hoped that those restraints on the importation from thence, which must render that favour of little effect, will be no longer continued.

From those considerations it is evident, that many strong reasons respecting Ireland are now to be found against the continuance of those restrictive laws of 1663 and 1670, that did not exist at the time of making them.

Ireland was by those laws excluded from almost all the trade of three quarters of the globe, and from all direct beneficial intercourse with her fellow-subjects in those countries, which were partly stocked from her own loins. But still, though deprived at that time of the benefit of those colonies,

* Sir W. Petty, p. 9 and 10. † Ib. 34, 71, 125. ‡ 15 Ch. II. ch. 7.
the

she was not then considered as a colony herself; her manufacturers were not in any other manner discouraged, her ports were left open, and she was at liberty to look for a market among strangers, though not among her fellow-subjects in Asia, Africa or America*.

By the proceedings in the English parliament in the year 1698, and the speech of the Lords Justices to the Irish parliament in that year it appears, that the linen was intended to be given to this country as an equivalent for the woollen manufacture. The opinion that this supposed equivalent was accepted of as such by Ireland is mistaken. The temperament, which the commons of Ireland in their address said they hoped to find, was no more than a partial and a temporary duty on the exportation, as an experiment only, and not as an established system, reserving the exportation of frize, then much the most valuable part to Ireland†. The English intended the linen manufacture as a compensation, and declared they thought it would be much more advantageous to Ireland‡ than the woollen trade.

This idea of an equivalent has led several persons, and among the rest two very able writers§, into mistakes, from the want of information in some facts which are necessary to be known, that this transaction may be fully understood, and therefore ought to be particularly stated.

The Irish had before this period applied themselves to the linen trade. This appears by two of their statutes, in the reign of Elizabeth, one laying a duty on the export of flax and linen yarn||, and the other, making it felony to ship

* Sir William Petty mentions that “ the English who have lands in Ireland were forced to trade only with strangers, and became unacquainted with their own country, and that England gained more than it lost by a free commerce (with Ireland), as exporting hither three times as much as it received from hence;” and mentions his surprize at their being debarred from bringing commodities from America directly home, and being obliged to bring them round from England with extreme hazard and loss.—Political Survey of Ireland, p. 123.

† The Lords commissioners of trade in England, by their report of the 31st of August 1697, (Eng. Com. Jour. 12 vol. p. 428) relating to the trade between England and Ireland, though they recommend the restraining of the exportation of all sorts of woollen manufactures out of Ireland, make the following exception, “ except only, that of their frize, as is wont, to England.”

‡ See before speech of Lords Justices.

§ Mr. Dobbs, and after him Dr. Smith. || 11. Eliz. sess. 3, ch. 10.

them without paying such duty *. In the reign of Charles I. great pains were taken by Lord Strafford to encourage this manufacture; and in the succeeding reign † the great and munificent efforts of the first Duke of Ormond were crowned with merited success. The blasts of civil dissensions nipped those opening buds of industry, and when the season was more favourable, it is probable that, like England, they found the woollen manufacture a more useful object of national pursuit; which may be collected from the address of the English house of commons, “that they so unwillingly promote “the linen trade ‡;” and it was natural for a poor and exhausted country to work up the materials of which it was possessed.

In 1696 the English had given encouragement to the manufactures of hemp and flax in Ireland, but without stipulating any restraint of the export of woollen goods.

In 1699, there was no equivalent whatever given for the prohibition of the export of our woollen manufactures.

But perhaps it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the foregoing privileges at first extended only to the English adventurers in the pale § and five Irish families, the O'Briens, the O'Cavanaghs, the O'Neals, the O'Conors, and O'Mea Loughlins of Meath, the rest were deprived of their lives, lands, and liberties by the English with impunity; and, to compleat their misfortunes, the celebrated statute of Kilkeny, which here follows, was passed in 1365, which proved a more respectable and numerous assembly than had hitherto been convened in Ireland. The prelates of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, Lismore, Waterford, Killalloe, Ossory, Leighlin, Cloyne, obeyed the summons of the king's son. The temporal peers and commons cheerfully attended. Both estates sat together: and the result of their deliberations was, that the English of the realm § of Ireland, before the arrival of the duke

* 13 Eliz. sess. 5, ch. 4.

† 17 and 18 Ch. 2, ch. 9, for the advancement of the linen manufacture. Carte. ‡ See before.

§ Which included Dublin, Meath, Uriel, now Louth, the cities of Kildare, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick.

“Tho' a Prince assume the title of Sovereign of an entire country, (as our Kings did of Ireland,) yet if there be *two-thirds* of that country, wherein he cannot punish treason, or murder, or theft, if the jurisdiction of his ordinary courts of justice doth not extend to these parts; if he have no certain revenues, no escheats or forfeitures, I cannot say, that such a country is conquered. Davis's Hist. of Ire. p. 9.

§ MSS. Lamb. G. No 608. fol. 1.

of Clarence, were become mere Irish in their language, names, apparel, and manner of living; had rejected the English laws, and submitted to those of the Irish, with whom they had united by marriage-alliance, to the ruin of the general weal. It was therefore enacted, that marriage, nurture of infants, and gossiping with the Irish, should be considered and punished as high-treason. Again, if any man of English race shall use an Irish name, the Irish language, or the Irish apparel, or any mode or custom of the Irish, the act provides that he shall forfeit lands and tenements, until he hath given security in the court of Chancery, to conform in every particular to the English manners; or, if he have no lands, that he shall be imprisoned until the like security be given. The Brehon law was pronounced, to be a pernicious custom and innovation lately introduced among the English subjects *. It was therefore ordained that in all their controversies they shall be governed by the common law of England; and that whoever should submit to the Irish jurisdiction, was to be adjudged guilty of high-treason. As the English had been accustomed to make war and peace with the bordering enemy at their pleasure, they were now expressly prohibited from levying war upon the Irish, without special warrant from the state. It was also made highly penal to the English, to permit their Irish neighbours to graze their lands, to present them to ecclesiastical benefices, or to receive them into their monasteries or religious houses; to entertain their bards, who perverted their imaginations by romantic tales; or their news tellers, who seduced them by false reports. It was made felony to impose or cefs any forces upon the English subject against his will. And as the royal liberties and franchises were become sanctuaries for malefactors, express power was given to the king's sheriffs to enter into all franchises, and there to apprehend felons or traitors.

* *Finglas*, chief Baron of the Exchequer in King H. VIII. time says, "That the English statutes passed in Ireland, are not observed above eight days after passing them; whereas those laws and statutes made by the Irish on their hills, they keep firm and stable, *without breaking them for any favour or reward.*" Baron Finglas's Breviate of Ireland.

"There is no nation under the Sun, that love equal and indifferent justice, better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be *against themselves.*" Sir J. Davice's Hist. Ire.

"I have been informed by many of them that have had judicial places there (in Ireland) and partly of mine own knowledge, that there is no nation of the Christian world, that are greater lovers of justice than they are; which virtue must of necessity be accompanied by many others.

Cooke's Inst. chap. 76.

tors. Lastly, because the great lords, when they levied forces for the public service, acted with partiality, and laid unequal burdens upon the subjects, it was ordained, that four wardens of the peace in every county should adjudge what men and armour every lord or tenant should provide. The statute was promulgated with particular solemnity; and the spiritual lords, the better to enforce obedience, denounced excommunication on those who should presume to violate it in any instance.

Voltaire, whose acquaintance with Irish history appears to be very slight, asserts, "That the Irish always behaved shamefully at home." I am confident, with all his ingenuity, he would not be able to support this on any principle of philosophy or common sense: he should, however, first have recollected the celebrated battle of Clontarf, which was the 99th in which Boroimhe was victorious over the Danes; he should also have recollected the battle of Aughrim, * where 15000 Irish, ill-paid, and worse clothed, fought with 25000 men, highly appointed, and the flower of all Europe, composed of *English, Dutch, Fleming, and Danes*, vying with each other. That after a most bloody fight of some hours, these began to shrink on every side; and would have received a most complete overthrow, but for the treachery of the commander of the Irish horse, and the death of their general, killed by a random shot.

At the first siege of Limerick, a small party of Irish, headed by the gallant *Sarsfield*, cut off a considerable body of these aliens near Cullen, and destroyed all the cannon and ammunition, intended for the expediting this work; and in this enterprise it is difficult to determine which to admire more, the wisdom of the plan, or the intrepidity with which it was executed. Soon after this, when a breach was made in the walls 40 feet wide, which the English, with their accustomed bravery, mounted, and poured into the city, the Irish rallied in the centre of the Irish-town; in their turn attacked the enemy, beat them back to the dismantled walls, and from thence to the Fosse. They did not stop here: they pursued them to their camp with great slaughter; and though they did not set fire to the English hospital, where the wounded, unable to fly, were perishing in the flames, yet, it is a known fact, that they partly prevented the effects of this unnatural order, by quenching the fire, and saving numbers of these half-expiring wretches. The censure which King William passed on his troops, after this defeat, is too glorious for the Irish to be here omitted: "*Had I* (said he) *but the handful of*

* O'Halloran, page 270.

"men who defended this city, and that you were all shut up in it," "I would take it in spite of you." M. de Voltaire makes but a poor atonement to this injured nation, when he rapidly tells us, "that they behaved well abroad." He knew that their valour abroad was such, that in many capital defeats of the French armies they alone remained conquerors. Witness the battle of the *Woods*, where Clare's regiment alone cut to pieces one of two battalions, so that none but the colonel (Gore) and a very few survived the action. While the whole army were complimenting the *great Marlborough*, on this signal victory, he alone appeared melancholy and dejected. *I wish*, (said a young colonel) *that my regiment had been on that service. I wish they had* (answered this officer, coolly) *for then I should be at the head of 1500 brave fellows, and you not have ten.* The affair of Cremona, were there no other instance, one should think would secure them immortality in France, were gratitude the characteristic of the French nation; and the remark of a senator, in the British house of commons the winter following, shews how sensibly the high allies felt the check:

"Two Irish regiments (said he) have done at Cremona a more real injury to the high allies, than the fee-simple of all their forfeited estates is worth!"

If time and the limits of this work permitted, numerous examples of Irish prowess and disinterested generosity could be adduced, but every invidious remark to the contrary may be overthrown, from the bare transactions of the great *Hugh O'Neil*, and his intrepid followers:

O sacred LIBERTY! shall faction's train
Pervert the reverend archives of thy reign?
Shall slaves traduce the blood thy votaries spilt,
Blaspheming glory with the name of guilt?
And shall no son of thine, their wiles o'erwhelm,
And clear the story of *our* injur'd realm?
To this bright task some *Irish* spirit raise,
With power surpassing even a *Livy's* praise;
Thro' this long wilderness his march inspire,
And make thy temperate flame his leading fire!
Teach his keen eye, and comprehensive soul,
To pierce each dark recess, and grasp the whole!
Let truth's undoubted signet seal his page,
And glory guard the work from age to age;
That *Irish* minds from this pure source may draw
Sense of thy *rights*, and passion for thy *law*;
Wisdom to prize, and honour that inspires,
To reach that virtue which adorns our fires. HAYLEY.

Approaching to a close, I presume, my endeavours may at least lay some claim to the laudable verses of old Ennius:

Antequa sepolta vetusta,

Quai faciunt mores veteresq. novosque tenentem,

Moltarum veterum legum divomque hominumque.

And though accuracy may be disappointed in arrangement, judgment in selection, and indulgence wearied with length; to balance these, discernment may discover a desire to pause, where candour seemed satisfied, till hurried on by fresh information to establish truth, or dispel prejudice, repetition consequently following; however, should the former prevail, youth, haste, and avocation to necessary business, could be produced in my favour, if the pleasing reflection of having endeavoured to serve my country, did not at least, though at the same time with every possible respect to public opinion, prepare my feelings against every ill-natured attack; in confidence of which, I shall add a few remarks, unwilling to quit a subject which has left such pleasing impressions on a heart, which only laments the inability of a head to gratify its warmest wishes.

Videmus quid deceat non assequimur. *Cicero.*

It is plain, *then*, that Ireland *never was* conquered by the English; it is not probable to suppose, that Strongbow with 400, and Henry II. with 500 Knights, should prevail where 60,000 and upwards, ignominiously failed. In addition to what has been said on this subject, the following may not be deemed inapposite.

The very best view of the political state of this kingdom (from the reign of Henry the second to that of James the first) is given by Sir John Davies, Attorney-General, who was sent hither in that character, soon after his royal master's accession to the throne of Great Britain. His book bears the title of 'Historical collections: or, a discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought under obedience to the crown of England, until the beginning of the reign of king James.' The causes are assigned under two general heads: 1st. The faint prosecution of the war. Both Henry the second and his son (King John) contented themselves with gaining a superficial homage from the kings of three provinces; and Sir John Courcy, earl of Ulster, made little more impression on the fourth. No force sufficient to support the English interest, appeared before the thirty-sixth of Edward the third; and this was reckoned an intolerable burden upon the treasury of England. So was Richard the second's expedition in the latter end of his reign; from

from which time, to the 39th of queen Elizabeth, there never was a competent strength sent over. The author, in this part of his discourse, shews at large what hindrances every preceding reign was cloged with, running through the most material occurrences in each. 2. The other chief cause of this slow progress he attributes to the defects and looseness in the civil administration. There was from the beginning, he observes, a shew of giving English laws and franchises to the natives in general; but, in fact, these privileges were only allowed, by the courts of judicature, to five Irish septs, the rest being always treated as aliens and enemies. In proof of this, he entertains his reader with several curious cases and pleadings in said courts. A like fault in policy was the passing of exorbitant grants, whole countries and provinces, to the first adventurers, who, instead of winning over the natives to the obedience of their Sovereign, fell into endless quarrels among themselves. These struggles put them under a necessity of living under the old Irish fashion, for, to increase the numbers and powers of their respective families and clans, they observed the laws of Tainistry and Gavelkind; and, as their forces grew numerous, they were subsisted by the wicked extortion of Buanachd, Coigna and Livery. The statutes of Kilkenny made some provision for the cure of this epidemic distemper: and these enacted by Sir Edward Poyning, under king Henry the seventh, seemed to secure an universal observance of the English laws. Yet, in the very next reign, there was room enough for a farther reformation both in church and state: when the Lord Grey, having (among other wholesome acts of parliament) procured an establishment of the king's supremacy, first discovered that the Irish made no scruple in renouncing the Pope, when they had once resolved to obey the king. However, the advances that were afterwards made by the Earl of Suffex under Queen Mary, seconded by those of Sir H. Sidney, and Sir Charles Blount (Lord Mountjoy) under Queen Elizabeth, finished the martial part of a plenary reduction of the whole kingdom; leaving only the peaceful distribution of justice, and the settlement of trade and commerce, to the ministry of King James. This is the sum and substance of that excellent treatise, which abounds with such a masterly knowledge in the history and state of Ireland, as is truly incomparable.

It is plain then that we enjoyed all the commercial liberties of England, until the 15th of Charles II. * In 1663, our

* Additional proofs to those I have already advanced in favour of this assertion, see 3d James I. ch. 6, 12 Ch. II. ch. 32. Matth. Paris,

exportation to the Colonies was prohibited. In 1670, our importation thence. In 1699, King William III. declared he would restrict our wool trade as *far as in him lay*, which he accordingly did.

As nine-tenths of the present inhabitants of this kingdom are allowed to be descended from those English settlers, and the natives, who from time to time were permitted the use of the English laws *; it is clear, beyond contradiction, that *we* were as FREE as the English during 500 years. Our liberties were first infringed by the detestable Strafford, *but the cries of this oppressed country pursued, and overtook him* †. Since that period, you have borne “the whips and scorns of time ‡, the oppressor’s wrongs, the proud man’s contumely,

anno. 1172, p. 121, 220. Vit. H. 2. Pryn 4 Inst. 349. Against the 4 Inst. c. 76, p. 250, 252. Lord Lyttleton’s hist. H. II. 3d vol. 89, 90. 7 Co. 22, 23. Sir J. Davis’s hist. 71. 4th Black 429. Cooke’s 4th Inst. 351. Lucas’s works. Irish Hist. Lib. p. 136, &c.

* De legibus ab Anglicanis in Hibernia usitatis meri Hibernicis concedendis. A. D. 1280, Pryn, an. 257, Pat. 8, Ed. I. m. 12.

† See Mr. Flood’s speech, December 18, 1781.

‡ Lucæ De Linda, Descriptio Orbis. Amsterdam 1665. p. 385. Mores Hibernorum nostri temporis. Baptizatis infantibus nomina imponunt profana matrimonia contrahunt, non de presenti, sed de futuro, ideo facite divortium admittunt, ubi sine negotio maritus aliam quærit uxorem et mulier alterum maritum silvestres Irlandi in genua procumbunt, cum novilunium spectant frumentum pro equis, quorum ingentem gerunt curam, servant, urgente nimium fame etiam crudas carnes comedunt, vaccæ sanguinem coagulatum butyro superfundunt, et ita comedunt. Adhæc Anglo-Hiberni adeo ab antiquis illis Hibernis sunt separati ut colonorum omnium ultimus qui in Anglica provincia habitat, filiam suam, vel nobilissimo Hibernorum principi in matrimonium non daret, Tales vero lites æstimare solent certi homines quos *Brebonios* appellant, qui tam juris civilis, quam Britannici ignorantes sunt, judicantque solum ex domesticis consuetudinibus, quæ usu et frequentia actuum receptæ sunt. In suam et montanis velut feræ oberrent locis quod illorum spectat eruditio suam, illa valde exigua est. Medicos ibi hæreditas, non doctrina facit satisque se doctos putant, si illud Hippocratis, *ars longa vita brevis* recitare queant.

Grafton.

Manners of the Irish of our days. Their baptismal names are prophane; they wed for the future, not the present, whereby divorces are easily obtained, and the husband at liberty to chuse another wife, and the wife another husband; the savage Irish fall on their knees at sight of the new moon; they pay great attention to their horses, feeding them with corn; pressed by great hunger, they eat raw flesh, they likewise eat cow’s blood, covered with butter. The English Irish as yet are separated from the old natives, and the English who inhabit the Pale, being the last of all the colonies, would not give one of their daughters in marriage to the noblest Prince of the Irish. Their disputes are determined by certain men, called *Brebons*, who are as ignorant of the civil law as of the British; they judge wholly from domestic customs, which, confirmed by frequency of
acts

"and the laws delay;" your history considered as fable, your courage fool-hardiness, and your hospitality intemperance.

And now, my countrymen and fellow-subjects, since ye have set so bright an example to posterity in the redemption of your liberties, continue to preserve them inviolate; watch them with the eye of circumspection and caution; trust not to the specious professions of national friendship and generosity, they are the words only of speculation and sophistry. The dreams of Puffendorf and Montesquieu may amuse in the closet, but they vanish in the field. Power only is the law of nations: when assured of the confidence of Britain, yield her every consistent aid; one of her sons had the presumption already to ring the shackles ye have nobly broken in your ears, and to brand ye with discontent; the voice of your unanimity has already reached the throne; ye have given the highest marks of gratitude for a *simple act of justice*. What would Britain require?

acts, are received; they live in mountains and woods like wild beasts; they scarcely possess any learning; their physicians are hereditary, and illiterate; they conceive themselves learned enough, if they are able to repeat the sentence of Hippocrates, *Ars longa, vita brevis*, art is long, life short.

Luca de Linda Amsteldam. 1665.

In Ireland there be two kinde of men, one soft, gentle, ciuile, and curteous: And to these people, as to the most richest, and best nurtured persons, doth many merchantmen of the Countreyes adjoynng, dayly resort. But because the most resort thether is of the Englishe nation, the Irishe men folow and counterfeyt their ciuile manners, and honest conditions. And by reason of the the common trade and entercourse betwene them, they have learned the English tongue, and can both speake and understand it. And all this kind of people is under the subjection and dominion of the king of England. The other kinde is cleane contrary from this, for they be wyld, rusticall, foolish, fierce, and for their unmannerly behauier, and rude fashions are called wilde and sauage Irishemen. And these men have many gouernours and seuerall rulers, which kepe continuall battaile, and dayly warre amongst themselves, for the which cause they be more fierce, more bolde and hardie then the other Irish men, and they be uery desyrous of newe thinges, and straunge fights and gasyngs, and after robery, theft, and rapine, and in nothing so much delighyng as with tumultuous sedition and continuall strife. And to these wilde Coltes, Perkyn shewed himselfe first, easily perswad- yng them to beleue that he was the same very person whom he falsly fained and counterfeited.

Grafton.

"Some nations seem formed for subjection to others. The English always had a superiority over the Irish, in genius, as well as arms and riches, nor has Ireland ever been able to shake off the yoke, *since she was first subdued by an English baron.*"

Voltaire.

"The Irish, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance."

Hume.

See more on this subject, particularly in the introduction to Dr. Curry's hist. of the Civil Wars of Ireland.

“ Let the favour received be what it will, liberty is too dear a price for it. A state that has been *obliged*, is not therefore to be *enslaved*. It ought, if possible, make an adequate return for the services done to it ; but to suppose that it ought to give up the power of governing itself, and the disposal of its property, would be to suppose, that in order to shew its gratitude, it ought to part with the power “ of ever afterwards exercising gratitude.” Dr. Price.

Arouse ! be awakened and guard the freedom that is justly your due ! guard the precious fruit of your own exertions with *breathing fire*. Place your confidence, therefore, in Heaven and *yourselves* alone.

Wisdom and moderation have already marked your councils ; ye have proceeded, and may ye continue so to do, with the firmness of men resolved to be FREE.

It is not my wish to awaken discontents or jealousies. Englishmen cannot blame ye for adoring what themselves admire : they are generous, so are ye ; they are brave, so are ye. May Britain—but a favourite Poet conveys my wish, &c.

May Britain soon her better interest know,
Nor spurn the good Ierne can bestow ;
Her paltry pride, her mean suspicions chase,
And win, by bounteous acts, a grateful race.
In many a maze, while commerce flows around,
New force and value shall to her redound ;
Wide, and more wide, the genial currents born,
With rising herbage shall their banks adorn ;
And scatter plenty, as their path they sweep,
Then sink in her, as in their parent deep :
Or like the blood, with heat informing roll,
Strength to the limbs, and spirit to the soul.

H I S T O R Y

OF

VOLUNTEERING, &c.



BEFORE we enter on the unexampled period that must ever raise the page of Irish history superior to all others, let us take a short view of this island immediately preceding it; happily situated, placed beneath one of the finest climates, behold the richest soil no longer entrusted with the hopes of harvest, but consigned to the sustenance of cattle as the only marketable commodity; a spiritless peasantry, ill-lodged, worse clothed, and coarsely fed; a ruined tenantry; every heretofore crowded hamlet and village experiencing the real miseries of Doctor Goldsmith's *Deserted One*; the spirit of freedom broken by oppression into despondence; the languid eye only lifted to take in fresh images for sorrow; life measured by length; and death or emigration, the living death of population, presented as the only resource from misery; every species of industry blasted in the bud; public credit failed, merchants became bankrupts, our artificers begged in our streets, the numbers of our poor grew greater as the means of relieving them grew less; our charity only was not chilled, but our hands could not obey the warm dictates of our hearts; wool reduced one half in its usual price; wheat one third; black cattle of all kinds in the same proportion, and hides in a much greater; buyers not had without difficulty at those low rates, and from the principal fairs men commonly returned with the commodities they brought there. Many faithful pictures of our misery * were given,

* Were I, says the ingenious Dr. Campbell, to devise an emblematic figure of Ireland, in her present state, it should not be a Manerva-like figure with her spear and harp, nor should it be a Diana with her wolf dogs, coupled, and the moose deer in the back ground; but my picture of Ireland should be *Mulier formosa superne*, a woman exquisitely beautifully,

even the voice of verse arose to aid *slighted truth*, a piece of cloth of Irish manufacture, presented to the Queen by Lord Clare, was accompanied by the following lines, so truly descriptive of our situation, that an apology for their insertion must be needless.

And O! might poor Ierne hope;
 In sober freedom's liberal scope,
 To ply the loom, to plough the main,
 Nor see Heaven's bounties pour'd in vain;
 Where starving hinds, from fens and rocks,
 View pastures rich with herds and flocks;
 And only view, forbid to taste—
 Sad tenants of a dreary waste;
 For other hinds our oxen bleed,
 Our flocks for happier regions feed;
 Their fleece to Gallia's looms resign,
 More rich than the Peruvian mine;
 Her fields with barren lillies strown,
 Now white with treasures not her own:
 In vain Ierne's piercing cries
 Plaintive pursue the golden prize;
 While all aghast the Weaver stands,
 And drops the shuttle from his hands:
 Barter accurs! but mad distress
 To ruin flies from wretchedness.
 Theirs be the blame, who bar the course,
 Of commerce from her genuine source,
 And drive the wretch his thirst to slake
 With poison, in a stagnant lake.

Hence ports secure from ev'ry wind,
 For trade, for wealth, for pow'r design'd;
 Where faithful coasts and friendly gales
 Invite the helm and court the sails;
 A wide deserted space expand,
 Surrounded with uncultur'd land.
 Thence Poverty, with haggard eye,
 Beholds the British streamers fly;
 Beholds the Merchant doom'd to brave
 The treacherous shoal, and adverse wave;

fully, with her head and neck richly attired, her bosom full, but meanly
 dress'd, her lower parts lean and emaciated, half covered with tattered
 weeds, her legs and feet bare with burned shins, and all the squalor of in-
 digent sloth.

Philosop. Survey
 Con-

Constrain'd to risk his precious store,
 And shun our interdicted shore.
 Thus Britain works a Sister's woe;
 Thus starves a friend, and gluts a foe.

So shackled were we in our trade, by the interested policy of England, and by the power she had assumed of making laws to bind us, that we even stooped to solicit the liberty of some trifling manufactures, and they were refused, though, the request was founded in justice, and begged as a favour; in so low an estimation were we held in the scale of the empire, that the trivial interest of every insignificant town was preferred to the just rights of an extensive nation, and every attempt to establish any manufacture their jealous avarice deemed injurious, met with immediate opposition, and the attempt itself was treated as an insolent violation of the rights of Britain; nay, to complete our misery, the landed property of the kingdom was shaken, the principal export trade ruined by a repeated embargo *, to serve the low corrupt intrigues of an English minister, to bribe a vote, and fill the pockets of a contractor. To add, if possible, a further disgrace, we were made the instruments of our humiliation; we were upbraided with a langour, and inattention, of which England alone was the cause; and while every exertion and every art were used to forge and rivet our chains, we were charged with the vices that result from a state of despondent servitude, and they were made the insolent plea for refusing our just demands. It must however, be acknowledged, that in the midst of tyranny, they thought on mercy; and, when they had lost America, they were pleased, with all the kindness of insulting condescension, to indulge us in the unsolicited favour of cultivating tobacco; and, to give the last gloomy finishing to the picture of our distress, the property of the kingdom, severely injured and threatened with total and immediate destruction, by a combination of secret villains, hardened in iniquity, and made desperate by want.

It is a just observation that there are moments big with the fate of nations, as well as of persons: 1779 appears to be peculiarly so with respect to Ireland; the combination of

* By a proclamation, dated the 3d of February, 1776, on all ships and vessels, laden in the ports in this kingdom, with provisions of any kind, but not to extend to ships carrying salted beef, pork, butter and bacon into Great-Britain, or provisions to any part of the British empire, except the Colonies mentioned in the said proclamation. 4th of January, 1779, taken off as far as it relates to ships carrying provisions to any of the ports of Europe.

several happy circumstances, happily attended, produced the desired effect; several literary luminaries arose on our hitherto almost darkened hemisphere; the re-illuminated mind recognized her long lost liberties, and determined to reclaim them; the thunder of Britain died at a distance, and the sea only trembled beneath the sight of her fleet; informed in the language of confidence that we were unjustly oppressed by a sister kingdom, whose extent of territory exceeded ours only in one-third, and her inhabitants one-half, and if a narrow sea divided us, a still narrower divided her and France, which must ever be her enemy, let her be the ally of whom she will; we smiled at our strength and the justness of our cause; the sparks of liberty were still alive, and only required to be fanned; the flame caught even the pulpit, the hallowed lip touched with fire, the manly exertions for our liberty, as a grand principle of the social and moral duties, was warmly ushered on the wings of religion.

And hark! *Ierne* calls her sons to arms,
 From plain to plain we hear the glad alarms!
 On ev'ry breeze the sacred banners stream;
 From hill to hill the marshall'd squadrons beam!
 Not shepherd's carrol, now, nor hunter's horn,
 But piercing fifes awake the ling'ring morn!
 Not rural sports the village throng delight,
 But warlike lessons, and the mimic fight!
 See, gayly dread, the virtuous bands appear,
 Dear to their country, and to freedom dear!
 No venal slaves, by some poor stipend led,
 To sell their worthless blood for daily bread;
 No ready engines, at a tyrant's word,
 'Gainst human rights to draw the guilty sword:
 Awake, alive, possess with glory's charms,
 'Tis virtue, virtue calls the host to arms.
 They blend the citizen's and soldier's name,
 And reason sanctifies the martial flame.
 Each sacred pledge that human life endears,
 Each awful call that sounds to virtuous ears:
 The rising energies of free-born mind,
 The glorious ties that honour loves to bind;
 And last, the promise of a deathless meed,
 See prompts, nor vainly prompts th' heroic deed.
 What honest flames from ev'ry eye-ball dart!
 What god-like transports heave the bursting heart!
 Now virtue reigns, sublime, supreme, confess;
 A nation feels her like a single breast!

Lord Nugent, whose name Irish gratitude should remember, on the 19th of January, 1779, called the attention of the British senate to the situation of our affairs, by moving for "an account of the imports from Ireland, and the exports to that kingdom, from the year 1768." His motion, he said, would, if carried, enable gentlemen to see at once the rapid decay of trade in Ireland; and to judge whether the bills passed last session in favour of Ireland, had been productive of that good which the house, at the time of passing them, intended to do. He assured gentlemen, that the situation of the Irish was truly deplorable; want and poverty were visible every where throughout the kingdom; manufactures were at a stand; and famine had so overspread the country, that nothing but the miseries of our people at Calcutta, during the dreadful scarcity of provisions there, could equal the present situation of the Irish. The whole revenue of the kingdom was scarcely adequate to the support of the military establishment, and the payment of interest for the debts contracted in the *cause* of Britain. The value of estates had sunk to 17 and 14 years purchase; and even at that low rate no purchasers were to be found, and for want of trade there was no money in circulation. The loyalty of the Irish in such a distracted condition was eminently conspicuous; no sooner was France leagued with America, than the parliament of Ireland voted 300,000*l.* for the service of his Majesty; and actually pays the enormous interest of seven and a half per cent. because the poverty of the nation prevented it from settling a loan filled upon easier terms.

He offered to produce a letter from Sir George Saville to confirm what he advanced, and still farther appealed to Lords North, and Germaine, as *they knew what he had said was too true.*

The narrow policy of confining the trade of an empire to one part, and excluding all the others from a participation in it, was no less absurd than prejudicial to the whole. It was singular and unparalleled in Europe. There was no Prince on the continent, whose dominions were composed of different states, who absurdly cherished the interest of one to the ruin of the rest. The house of Austria possesses Austria, the Netherlands, the Milanese, Hungary and Bohemia, and finds it her interest in granting the benefit of a free and equal trade to all France, makes no distinctions between the ancient possessions of the crown and its newly acquired dominions, Alsace, Franche Comte, Lorraine, and what are called Les Pays Reconque

Reconques, all participate in trade equally with the other provinces of the kingdom. Spain acted formerly as we do now; but our misfortunes had made them wise. Cadiz was the only port in Spain allotted for American commerce: but that foolish system had been lately exploded; and now that all the Spanish ports are opened, the Spaniards find their manufactures revived; but above all, they see their navy raised to a degree of strength unknown to Spain at any other period. We in our turn ought to learn from them. Ireland had always been our best customer; she had taken our manufactures off our hands, and gave bread to our workmen. To disable her from continuing to do so, is to rob our manufacturers of the means of subsisting. Our tanning-bark, which was formerly sold in Ireland at four guineas a ton, brought at present only half that sum: The other commodities of this kingdom had sunk in proportion. Was that policy? Was that justice either to English or Irish? The prosperity of one country he always understood to be beneficial to the other; and as their interests were inseparable, so their advantage should be mutual. Ireland, situated as it is, would be still more advantageous to Great Britain, than if it was placed in the very centre of England; because from the situation it must always be of service to our navigation.

Mr. T. Townshend, lord Newenham, lord Beauchamp, and latterly Mr. Burke, appeared equally warm in the cause of Ireland. Sir George Yonge, our *worthy* vice-treasurer, indeed appeared wholly averse to the inquiry, and insisted; that our distress arose from indolence, and not from the restraints we lay under.

His Excellency John Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, on Tuesday the 12th Day of October, 1779.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ AT a time when the trade and commerce of this kingdom are, in a more particular manner, the objects of public attention, it were to be wished, that the general tranquility, ever desirable, had been restored, so as to have left you entirely at liberty to deliberate on those great and important subjects. But I am persuaded, you will not permit any interests, however dear to you, to impede your efforts or disturb your unanimity at this most important period: and I have it expressly in command from his majesty, to assure you, that the cares and solitudes, inseparable from a state of hostility, have

have not prevented him from turning his royal mind to the interests and distresses of this kingdom with the most affectionate concern; of which the money remitted to this country for its defence, when England had every reason to apprehend a most formidable and immediate attack, affords a convincing proof. Anxious for the happiness of his people, his majesty will most cheerfully co-operate with his parliaments, in such measures, as may promote the common interest of all his subjects.

“ I have the pleasure to inform you of an accession to his majesty's family, since the last session of parliament, by the birth of another prince. May the same Providence, that continues to increase his domestic felicity, protect the honour of his crown, and the happiness of his people.

“ *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ It is with great concern, I am to inform you, that on account of the extraordinary decline of the revenues, the very liberal supplies of the last session have proved inadequate to the exigencies of government; so that, contrary to my most sanguine expectations, and most earnest endeavours, there is a considerable arrear now to be provided for.

“ His majesty, from his paternal attention to the interests of his people, and his solicitude to obviate, to the utmost, the necessity of increasing their burdens, has graciously commanded me to declare to you, that the greatest œconomy shall, in every instance, be exerted, as far as may be consistent with the honour of his crown, and the real interests of the nation.

“ I have ordered the public accounts, and other necessary papers to be laid before you: and I have no doubt that your known loyalty to your king, and attachment to your country, will induce you to go as far, as the national abilities will admit, in making a provision suitable to the exigency of the times, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ The united efforts and great military preparations of the house of Bourbon, seem only to have roused the courage and called forth the exertions of his majesty's brave and loyal subjects of this kingdom. I have only to lament, that the exhausted state of the treasury, has hitherto put it out of my power to give those exertions the most extensive and constitutional operation, by carrying the militia-law into execution.

“ I am persuaded, you will not suffer any dangers, that may be threatened from abroad, to draw off your attention

from wise and necessary domestic regulations; and that, among the many subjects worthy of your consideration, the Protestant charter schools and linen manufacture, will continue to be objects of your serious attention.

“ In promoting these, and in all other measures, that may tend to increase the prosperity and improve the true interests of this kingdom, I am bound to co-operate with you by a double tie, of inclination and of duty. Nothing can ever effect me with more real satisfaction, than the exerting my best endeavours for the welfare of Ireland; nor can I ever render a more acceptable service to my sovereign, than in promoting the happiness of his people.”

House of Lords, Wednesday, October 13. Committees sat upon the addresses to his majesty and the lord lieutenant, which were reported and agreed to unanimously, and ordered to be presented. That to his majesty contained a paragraph similar to the one introduced into the commons one, relative to a free trade.

House of Commons, Tuesday October 12. As soon as the Speaker had, according to custom, read the lord lieutenant's speech,

Sir Robert Deane arose, and after an exordium, lavish in its encomiums on the lord lieutenant's administration, and the good dispositions of his majesty and the British ministry toward this kingdom, moved for an address to the throne, expressing in the warmest terms the grateful sense the house entertained of the above dispositions, and, in the usual language of these addresses, echoing the speech. He was seconded by

Mr. R. H. Hutchinson, who said this was a great, critical, and important period, in which the declarations of the king, the best of princes, and the British legislature, left us no room to doubt but every good was designed for Ireland; that his majesty's speech in the British house, at the close of the last session, was the harbinger of good tidings and great events, which was this day confirmed in the lord lieutenant's speech, who says he has it in command to declare his wish to co-operate in such measures as may best promote our interests, interests which, in the hands of the present administration, must be well managed, as their designs are pure; that under such an administration the general benefit of the empire would be attended to, above all partial and selfish considerations; and the veil of calumny, which so long traduced them, would disappear, and the factious calumniators, touched with truth, as with the
speech

spear of Ithuriel, would start into shape. What thanks were due to our chief governor, who so respectfully mentions the societies of armed patriots throughout the kingdom? What must our opinion be of a chief governor who speaks so honourably of that great bulwark of constitutional liberty, a national militia? though our distresses are great, from them prosperous days may spring, like that fair flower the fabling poets tell of, which sprung from a hero's blood.

Mr. Grattan said, the speech contained nothing explicit; nothing satisfactory; it meant to quiet the minds of the people without any declaration whatever. After his majesty had been addressed by his Irish subjects for a free export trade, did such addresses require no answer? Were the people of Ireland undeserving the notice of the British ministers? Was there no respect for the interests of these kingdoms among the servants of the crown on this side of the water? Were not these servants of the crown also representatives of the people? Why not then speak out? Are our distresses of so private a nature that they must not be mentioned? [Here he gave an eloquent and pathetic picture of the miserable condition of this kingdom.] It is plain we have nothing to expect, since applications from the people, backed with the same from the officers of the crown, are not attended to. Ireland, then, has nothing to depend upon but her spirit; no redress of grievances, no extension of trade, but from the efforts of her people! and will it be politic, will it be safe, here or elsewhere, to oppose these efforts? Why does not our address also speak out? Why have we less spirit than the people? Shall the commons of Ireland shew less spirit than the most insignificant corporation? Are we so fallen, so despicable, as to be more afraid of England's censure, than of the cries of our starving manufacturers.

The distresses of this kingdom are two fold, the beggary of the people, and the bankruptcy of the state. The first he would ask the commissioners of the revenue to prove; but he would ask them upon oath, whether the restrictions on our trade was not the cause? whether the prohibitions laid on by England against the exports of woollen clothes did not occasion it? Whether there were not too many inhabitants in this kingdom, though not half peopled; whether to those inhabitants was the American continent still open, would they not have migrated thither rather than pine in their native land, the victims of English tyranny, rather than starve in it by an English act of parliament? And lastly, was there

one rich merchant in the kingdom? This kingdom, (he continued) ruined by a balance of trade against her for so many years, and the drain of absentees, owes its present existence to associations; it is but a temporary expedient, and something more effectual must be done.

As to the bankruptcies of the state, they are the consequence of a system of boundless prodigality, profligacy, and violence; a boundless prodigality, while our means were limited; a profligacy and violence uniformly maintained. One instance will suffice, where the late attorney general obliged the merchants of Cork to sign an illegal bond, as a collateral security to an illegal oath. The peace establishment of this poor country amounts to one-sixth of that of England; what proportion is there in our means? What is this establishment? infamous pensions to infamous men! [here he launched into some personalities] and will those men, whom we pay, vote against an extension of our trade? vote against the means of supporting them! To what pass have these profligate administrations reduced this kingdom! to be insulted with our poverty in the speech from the throne; to be told of our beggary; that the officers of the crown here have begged 50,000*l.* from England, or the troops could not have marched into camp; when it is known, that it is this profligacy that has unnerved the arm of government, and made the sword of defence fall in its hand.

He then moved an amendment to the address, to be inserted in the following words:

“That we beseech your majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion; but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade, have caused such calamity; that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying for want. Famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness, and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birth-right.” Lord Westport seconded Mr. Grattan's motion for the amendment. Mr. Flood considered the address as inexplicit.

Sir Henry Cavendish declared he would vote against the amendment, apprehending (with a view we may suppose to inefficacy and procrastination) that this business would be better effected by opening a committee on purpose, or rather following

lowing a precedent in the year 1661, when the Lords and Commons of Ireland appointed commissioners to attend the King, to *supplicate* the redress of grievances.

Mr. Ogle, in a strain of honest indignation, reprobated the idea of entering into a committee on the subject of our grievances; he was sick, he said, of that mode of trifling with the nation in order to gain time; that the ghost of the committee on the embargo haunted him every time he heard a committee mentioned; and lastly, if we did not mention something in the address, the ministry might again shelter themselves under the old excuse, "That truly they did not know what the Irish wanted, as their parliament was silent on the head," and so go on with the old system of duplicity.

Sir Edward Newenham, in a spirited and warmly decided strain, conjured the house, by all they held dear, to re-assume their wonted dignity and power, the early claims to which he happily and unanswerably traced; charged the British ministry with contempt and neglect to the nation, and called on their warmest advocate to deny the assertion; said he perfectly agreed with Mr. Flood, that the address did not go far enough, and that he thought the original address a servile echo to the speech.

The Provost drew a most pathetic picture of the melancholy situation of his native country, declaring, on this question, that no administration should bias him from the welfare of his country.

The Attorney General, without arguments to support, or art to deceive, delivered a studied eulogium on the sensibility of the King, and the humanity of his minister.

The debate now took a new turn; several of the ministerial party declared, that though they thought this business might have come more properly otherwise, yet, that there might be an unanimity, they would not oppose the amendment.

Hon. Henry Flood declared for the amendment, and entered largely into a justification of his political conduct, which, he said, had unfortunately been much misrepresented; that the office he held was the unsolicited gift of his Sovereign, which he had received with gratitude, and held with honour; that when a time came that he could no longer do it, he would gladly throw the bracelet into the common cauldron.

Mr. Prime Serjeant, after expatiating on the necessity of immediately laying, in an unequivocal manner, the state of our distresses at the foot of the throne, moved in lieu of the amendment proposed, "that it is not by temporary expedi-
ents,

“ents, but by a Free Trade alone, that this nation is now to
“be saved from impending ruin.”

The amendment was carried *nem. con.* as was also the address to the Lord Lieutenant.

We shall here give a slight review of this session: every object now wore the appearance of beauty, contrasted with the deformity we have described; our liberties restored! our commerce emancipated! a people, no longer divided by religious prejudice and factious animosity, but, endeared to each other by the firmest ties of gratitude and affection; united to her sister kingdom, in the strongest bonds of interest and amity; content and satisfaction diffused on every countenance; the lowest individual taught, by experience, to know his own importance, and actuated by a spirit of emulation, to attain a higher rank amongst his fellow-citizens. The arts of commerce encouraged by the rich, and pursued with industry by the poor; convinced that their activity will now be followed by success; the nation itself, roused from indolence, governed solely by a spirit of freedom, and elevated to the most exalted situation in the opinions of mankind, which, while it gratifies their pride, insures its stability; her natural rank in the political scale of Europe ascertained; no longer considered a meer appendage to Great Britain; supported wholly by that consequence, to which the fertility of her soil, the peculiar happiness of her situation, and the spirit of her people intitle her.

Immediately previous to this, the patriotic town of Galway entered into a non-importation agreement, which was instantly followed over all the kingdom, now clothed in her native manufacture :

——with rustic air,
Blooming she stands, and innocently fair.

Let polish'd arts the bashful nymph refine,

In silken raiment let her beauties shine ;

Th'admiring world shall own her peerless charms,

And distant bosoms pant with soft alarms.

Military associations arose unnumbered over the land. England, indeed forgetful, or pretending to be so, of the liberal plan on which the majesty of the people stepped forth, affected to despise them; and even Lord Shelburn, who draws a very considerable part of his sources from our isle, had the presumption in the British house to call us an *enraged mob*,* but an opportunity soon offered, which convinced our enemies of the estimation in which we were to be held.

* See his speech in the House of Lords, May the 11th, 1779.

Late in the summer of the year 1779, while the combined fleet of our enemies rode triumphant in the channel, and menaced the kingdom with immediate invasion, the affrighted maritime towns made application to government for protection, the established forces of the nation having been called away to support the war in America; the chief governor was forced to confess himself unable to afford any effectual assistance in this alarming state of urgent necessity; the people of Ireland resolved to defend themselves; government, forgetting their jealousy in their fears for the safety of the empire, yielded to the impulse of the nation, and, with reluctant confidence, placed arms in the hands of men, that shewed themselves worthy of the important trust. The fleets of the enemy, alarmed at our military preparations, beheld the banners of defiance, and fled precipitate from our coasts.

For this never to be forgotten service, the Duke of Leinster, and Mr. T. Conolly moved, " That the thanks of the " house be given to [the several Volunteer Corps, for their " spirited exertion at this time so necessary in defence of this " country," (which passed *nem. con.*)

This the Lord Chancellor and Lord Annally seemed desirous to oppose, by wishing to know under what authority the Volunteers arose; forgetful, it seems, that power only originates from the people, which, once for all, that they may perfectly know, I have subjoined the plain, but truly sensible remarks of Mr. Locke hereon, &c.

The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property; and the end why they chuse and authorize a legislative, is, that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society; to limit the powers, and moderate the dominion of every part and member of the society; for since it can never be supposed to be the will of the society, that the legislative should have a power to destroy that which every one designs to secure by entering into society, and for which the people submitted themselves to legislators of their own making, whenever the legislators endeavour to take away, or to destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people [*i. e.* Rebellant, they bring back the state of war] who are thereupon absolved from any farther obedience, and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men against force and violence.

Whoever,

Whensoever, therefore, the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties and estates of the people; by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people again, who have a right to resume their original liberty; and by the establishment of a new legislative (such as they shall think fit) to provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society. What I have said here concerning the legislative in general, holds true also concerning the supreme executor, who having a double trust put in him, both to have a part in the legislative and the supreme execution of the law, acts against both when he goes about to set up his own arbitrary will as the laws of the society. He acts also contrary to his trust when he either employs the force, treasure, and office of the society, to corrupt the representatives, and gain them to his purposes, or openly pre-engages the electors, and prescribes to their choice such whom he has, by solicitations, threats, promises or otherwise, won to his designs, and employs them to bring in such who have promised beforehand what to vote and what to enact. Thus to regulate the candidates and electors, and new model the ways of election, what is it but to cut up the government by the roots, and to poison the very fountain of public security? for the people, having reserved to themselves the choice of their representatives, as the fence to their properties, could do it for no other end but that they might always be freely chosen, and so chosen, freely act and advise, as the necessity of the common wealth and the public good should, upon examination and mature debate, be judged to require. This those who give their votes before they have heard the debate, and have not weighed the reasons on all sides, are not capable of doing. To prepare such an assembly as this, and to endeavour to set up the declared abettors of his own will for the true representatives of the people, and the law-makers of the society, is certainly as great a breach of trust, as perfect a declaration of a design to subvert the government, as is possible to be met with; to which if one shall add, rewards and punishments visibly employed to the same end, and all the arts of perverted law made use of, to take off and destroy all that stand in the way of such a design, and will not comply and consent to betray the liberties of
their

their country, it will be past doubt what is doing. What power they ought to have in the society, who thus employ it contrary to the trust that went along with it in its first institution, is easy to determine; and one cannot but see, that he who has once attempted any such thing as this cannot any longer be trusted. Locke on Gov. chap. 19, § 222.

The fears of an invasion subsided; but the people, now accustomed to associate in arms, and sensible of their importance, conferred, began to speak and think with more freedom of that state of subjection, in which they had too long been held, and which was aggravated by the distress felt at this time, in a peculiar degree, convinced of their rights, and conscious they were now in a situation to demand a restitution of them, they looked forward to redress, and they thought it just, that whilst they protected Ireland from the enemies of Britain, it should be made of some value to themselves. The fire of Liberty spread through their different associations; their union served to strengthen and diffuse the flame; they talked amongst themselves of their present degenerate state; wondered at their pusillanimous conduct, and resolved to redeem themselves in the eyes of mankind; at this critical period, the session of 79 opened:—The Secretary entered on the business of government with the usual confidence of success; a confidence authorized by the experience of the former session, in which, assisted by a numerous and *corrupt* majority in parliament, he had triumphed over the efforts of the virtuous part of the people, and by continuing an odious embargo, had brought the nation to the verge of bankruptcy; how great then must have been the surprize of the minister to meet with unaccustomed opposition! to feel himself obliged to give way to an unanimous resolution of the House of Commons, inserted even in the address to the throne; “That, it was not by temporary expedients, but by a Free Trade alone, this country could be saved from impending ruin.” This great resolution, in the opinions of the representative, can be attributed only to that spirit of liberty, which the armed associations had diffused through the whole nation; they seemed sensible of this, and gave a sanction to their assemblies, by voting them *unanimously*, an address of thanks; the words, “*Free Trade*” echoed through the kingdom, and the people pledged themselves to support the requisition of the commons; the nation however had not yet learned to speak out, nor had the gal-

lant associations yet inspired or assumed that confidence, their respectability of character eminently entitled them to. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the printed debates of the house in the early part of this session; on a motion for retrenchment, it being sagaciously intimated by Sir Benjamin Chapman, that, it would be prudent in government to comply cheerfully with the reasonable demands of the people, now with arms in their hands, determined to defend their rights. He was answered by Luke G—r, and John D—n, Esqrs. that, the Volunteers had taken up arms, *only*, for the purpose of defending the country from external violence, and internal insurrection, and not, by any means, with the view suggested. So little was the true spirit of the Volunteer combinations at that time understood or asserted in parliament. A Free Trade, with the acquiescence of England, was the consequence of those spirited measures; the people were not to be refused, but England, while she was forced to yield to the strong remonstrances of the nation, endeavoured (and in a great measure effected her plan) to make the acquisition of little value, by forcing, through the weight of parliamentary influence, such regulations as were inapplicable and injurious to the purposes of commerce. These attempts to evade our requisitions awakened the attention, and confirmed the spirit of Ireland; she began to see, that it was idle and in vain to expect, that the freedom of trade would be inviolate, while the freedom of the constitution remained still unasserted; these wise and generous sentiments so worthy of a great people, she was taught to feel and maintain in a manner becoming her dignity, by one of the firmest and most distinguished patriots a grateful nation was ever blessed with: Mr. Grattan directed the efforts of the Volunteers to the attainment of an object that merited all their exertions; a total emancipation from the intruded power of England, and a perfect restoration of that freedom to which they were entitled by Magna Charta. While he inspired the armed forces of the nation with an idea of their own consequence, he at the same time supported their claims in parliament with such persuasive eloquence, such power of argument, that each individual of the commons abjured for himself, the supremacy of Great Britain; and, it cannot be said he was defeated, though he did not, at that time, prevail in carrying his motion for a parliamentary declaration of rights. He succeeded however in establishing the idea in the minds of every individual in the kingdom. He was looked up to as their leader
in

in the glorious work of liberty; he deserved the honourable station, and was regarded by all parties, as the glory, ornament, and saviour of his country. The people having now disclaimed all obedience to the acts of the English legislature, as we had no law of our own, to regulate the conduct of the army, it was necessary that a mutiny bill should be immediately enacted; it passed here, and was sent to England for the royal assent: here she again shewed, how tenacious she was still of the power she had assumed; the bill was altered, and the law made *perpetual* though it had been limited by our parliament to two years only. Still the arts of venality, which had triumphed with such avowed success in the former sessions, again prevailed, and the bill was passed in its present disgraceful form: arguments were not wanting to support or palliate corruption; it was attempted to be proved, that a perpetual law was of equal service to the nation, and that the alteration of the English council ought not to alarm the jealousy of this kingdom, as their admitting at all, the necessity of a new law was a sufficient relinquishment of their right to bind Ireland. This flimsy reasoning however did not satisfy the people; they saw with astonishment and contempt the interested venality of their representatives: the Volunteers entered instantly into the most spirited and decided resolutions expressive of their discontent, and disapprobation; and the parliament was prorogued while the nation remained thus unsatisfied. The general dissatisfaction had spread itself into the remotest corners of the kingdom; every man was called upon to lend his assistance, and enlist under the banner of freedom. If any before remained inattentive, they were now convinced of the necessity of uniting in the general cause: scarcely was one individual found indolent or base enough to look on an idle spectator. Reviews were appointed; new corps were added; provincial musters were directed; encampments were formed; instructions came from the constituents to their representatives, and the people waited in military array, until the hour came, when they could with firmness and dignity demand from parliament a legal sanction to their claims.

April 20, 1780, Mr. Grattan, uninfluenced by power, strengthening from defeats, and brightening from ministerial collision, moved, "that the King's most excellent Majesty, and
 " the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power
 " competent to make laws to bind Ireland:" yet such, at this time, was the corruption of the senate, that this most
 salutary

salutary motion was negatived, though urged with the clearest arguments, and delivered with the warmest pathos.

It was originally intended that this work should close with the last session, (in 1782,) but finding on a closer view, the transactions from this to that period numerous, deeply interesting, and worthier of higher discussion than time has hitherto permitted, they are reserved for the continuation of a second volume; and as the principle design of this work is to diffuse information, and convey, to the latest moment, those important determinations which the unanimous voice of a whole nation has uttered, and their transactions conformed, a few observations and extracts are added, as a mirror in which the subject may view his own importance, &c. as a member of the empire; the duty he owes to, and in return expects from his sovereign; the futility of kings reigning by *divine right*, so frequently urged by sleepy church dignitaries, court sycophants, and the gilded pen of ministerial hirelings.

The King is chosen as head of the community, to preside in their councils, and to execute their laws in times of peace; not to controule the one, or make the other; and to conduct and command their armies, in times of war. This *supreme Magistrate*, and *chief General* they dignified with the *honours* and *title* of KING. All the rights, powers and privileges necessary to support the regal rank, and sovereign dignity of this great officer, consistent with the great end of the institution, now called prerogatives of the crown, were annexed; with an absolute freedom and exemption to his person, from all coercive or offensive acts of violence whatsoever; except on his committing a breach of the *implied* or *written* CONTRACT between KING and PEOPLE; in which case, they have reserved to themselves, and constantly exercised, the power of dethroning their King, and that of appointing and limiting the succession to the throne.

The legislative power of the Lords extends to the framing, and passing bills, for all purposes of good government; excepting the granting *taxes*, or *subsidies*; such bills must take rise in the Commons only, their assent and consent, being of *original right*, first to be obtained.

LUCAS.

The *election* of commoners, to be immediate trustees and apt representatives of the people in parliament, is the hereditary and indefeasible privilege of the people. It is the privilege which they accepted, and which they retain, in exchange of their originally inherent and hereditary right of sitting with the King and Peers, *in person*, for the guardianship of their own liberties, and the institution of their own laws.

Such representatives, therefore, can never have it in their power to give, delegate, or extinguish the whole, or any part of the peoples insparable and undistinguishable share in the legislative power; neither to impart the same to any one of the other estates, or to any persons or person whatever, either in or out of parliament. Where plenepotentaries take upon them to abolish the authority of their principals; or where any secondary agents attempt to defeat the power of their primaries; such agents and plenepotentaries defeat their own commission, and all the powers of the trust necessarily revert to the constituents.

The persons of these temporary trustees of the people, during their session, and for fourteen days before and after every meeting, adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution of parliament, are equally exempted, with the persons of peers, from arrest and dures of every sort.

They are also, during their session, to have ready access to the King or House of Lords, and to address or confer with them on all occasions.

No member of the House of Commons, no more than of the House of Peers, shall suffer, or be questioned, or compelled to witness or answer, in any court or place whatsoever, touching any thing said or done by himself, or others, in parliament; in order that perfect freedom of speech, and action, may leave nothing undone for the public weal.

They have also (during session) an equal power with the House of Lords, to punish any who shall presume to traduce their dignity, or detract from the rights or privileges of any Member of their House.

They commons form a court of judicature, distinct from the judicature of the House of Lords. Theirs is the peculiar privilege to try and adjudge the legality of the election of their own members. They may fine and confine their own members, as well as others, for delinquency or offence against the honour of their house. But, in all other matters of judicature, they are merely a court of *inquisition and presentment*, and not a tribunal of *definitive judgment*.

In this respect, however, they are extremely formidable. They constitute the *grand inquest* of the nation; for which great and good purpose, they are supposed to be perfectly qualified, by a personal knowledge of what hath been transacted throughout the several shires, cities, and boroughs, from whence the assemble, and which they represent.

Over and above their inquiry into all public grievances, *wicked Ministers, transgressing Magistrates, corrupt Judges and*

Officiaries, who sell, deny, or delay justice; *evil Counsellors* of the crown, who attempt or devise the subversion or alteration of any part of the constitution; with all such overgrown malefactors as are deemed above the reach of inferior courts, come under the particular cognizance of the Commons, to be by them impeached, and presented for trial at the bar of the House of Lords. And these inquisitory and judicial powers of the two Houses, from which no man under the crown can be exempted, are deemed a sufficient allay and counterpoise to the whole executive power of the King by his Ministers.

The legislative department of the power of the Commons is, in all respects, co-equal with that of the peers. They frame any bills at pleasure for the purposes of good government. They exercise a right, as the Lords also do, to propose and bring in bills, for the amendment or repeal of old laws, as well as for the ordaining or institution of new ones. And each house alike hath a negative on all bills that are framed and passed by the other.

But the capital, the incommunicable privilege of the House of Commons, arises from that holy trust which their constituents repose in them; whereby they are impowered to borrow from the people a small portion of their property, in order to restore it threefold, in the advantages of peace, equal government, and the encouragement of trade, industry, and manufactures.

To impart any of this trust would be a breach of the constitution: and even to abuse it, would be a felonious breach of common honesty.

By this fundamental trust, and incommunicable privilege, the Commons have the sole power over the money of the people; to grant or deny aids, according as they shall judge them either requisite, or unnecessary to the public service. Theirs is the province, and theirs alone, to enquire and judge of the several occasions for which such aids may be required, and to measure and appropriate the sums to their respective uses. Theirs also is the sole province of framing all bills or laws for the imposing of any taxes, and of appointing the means for levying the same upon the people. Neither may the first or second estate, either King or Peerage, propound or do any thing relating to these matters, that may any way interfere with the proceedings of the Commons, save in their negative or assent to such bills, when presented to them, without addition, deduction, or alteration of any kind.

After

After such aids and taxes have been levied and disposed of, the Commons have the further right of enquiring and examining into the application of the said aids; of ordering all accounts relative thereto, to be laid before them; and of censuring the abuse or misapplication thereof.

The royal assent to all other bills is expressed by the terms, *Le Roy le veut, the King wills it*. But, when the Commons present their bills of aid to his Majesty, it is answered, *Le Roy remercier ses loyal subjects et ainsi le veut, The King thanks his loyal subjects and so willeth*. An express acknowledgment that the right of granting or levying monies for public purposes, lies solely, inherently, and incommunicably, in the people and their representatives.

This capital privilege of the Commons, constitutes the grand counterpoise to the King's principal prerogative of making peace or war; for how impotent must a warlike enterprize prove, without money, which makes the sinews thereof; and thus the people and their representatives still retain in their hands the *grand momentum* of the constitution, and of all human affairs.

Distinguished representatives! Happy People! Immutably happy, while *worthily represented*.

As the fathers of the several families throughout the kingdom, nearly and tenderly comprize and represent the persons, cares, and concerns of their respective households; so these adopted fathers immediately represent, and intimately concentrate, the persons and concerns of their respective constituents, and in them the collective body, or sum of the nation. And while these fathers continue true to their adopting children, a single stone cannot lapse from the *great fabric of the constitution*.

The Three Estates in Parliament.

With the King, Lords, and Commons, in parliament assembled, the people have deposited their *legislative or absolute power, in trust* for their whole body; the said King, Lords, and Commons, when so assembled, being the *great* representative of the whole nation, as if all the people were then convened in one general assembly.

As the institution, repeal, and amendment of laws, together with the redress of public grievances and offences, are not within the capacity of any of the three estates, distinct from the others, the *frequent holding of Parliaments* is the vital food, without which the constitution cannot subsist.

The three estates originally, when assembled in parliament sat together consulting in the open field. Accordingly, a
Running

Running-Mead, five hundred years ago. King John passed the great charter, (as therein is expressed) by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, by the advice of several Commoners (by name recited) *et aliorum fidelium*, and of others his faithful people. And in the twenty-first clause of the said charter, he covenants, that, "For having the Common Council of the kingdom to assess aids, he will cause the Lords spiritual and temporal to be summoned by his writs; and, moreover, he will cause the principal Commoners, or those who held from him in chief, to be generally summoned to said parliaments by his Sheriffs and Bailiffs."

In the said assemblies, however, the concurrence became so great and disorderly, and the contest frequently so high between the several estates, in assertion of their respective prerogatives and privileges, that they judged it more expedient to sit apart, and separately to exercise the offices of their respective departments.

As there is no man, or set of men, no class or corporation, no village or city, throughout the kingdom, that is not virtually represented by the delegates in parliament, this *great body politic*, or *representative of the nation*, consists, like the body natural, of a head and several members, which, being endowed with different powers for the exercise of different offices, are yet connected by one main and common interest, and actuated by *one life or spirit of public reason*, called the *laws*.

In all steps of national import, the King is to be conducted by the direction of the parliament, his great national council; a council on whom it is equally incumbent to consult for the King with whom they are connected, and for the people by whom they are delegated, and whom they represent. Thus the King is constitutionally to be guided by the sense of his parliament; and the parliament alike is constitutionally to be guided by the general sense of the people. The two estates in parliament are the constituents of the King; and the people, mediately or immediately, are the constituents of the two estates in parliament.

Now, while the three estates act distinctly, within their respective departments, they effect and are reciprocally affected by each other. This *action and re-action* produces that general and *systematic controul* which, like *conscience*, pervades and superintends the whole, checking and prohibiting evil from every part of the constitution. And from this confinement of every part of the rule of *right reason*, the *great law of liberty to all* ariseth.

For instance, the King has the sole prerogative of making war, &c. But then the means are in the hands of the people and their representatives.

Again, to the King is committed the whole executive power. But then the ministers of that power are accountable to a tribunal, from which a criminal has no appeal or deliverance to look for.

Again, to the King is committed the cognizance of all causes. But should his Judges or Justiciaries pervert the rule of righteousness, an inquisition, impeachment, and trial impends, from whose judgment the Judges cannot be exempted.

Again, the King hath a negative upon all bills, whereby his own prerogatives are guarded from invasion. But should he refuse the royal assent to bills tending to the good of the subject, the Commons can also withhold their bills of assessment, or annex the rejected bills to their bill of aids: and they never failed to pass in such agreeable company.

Lastly, to the King is committed the right of calling the two estates to parliament. But, should he refuse so to call them, such a refusal would be deemed *an abdication of the constitution*; and no one need be told, at this day, *that an abdication of the constitution is an abdication of the throne*.

Thus, while the King acts in consent with the parliament and his people, he is limitless, irresistible, omnipotent upon earth; he is the free wielder of all the powers of a free and noble people; a King throned over all the Kings of the children of men. But should he attempt to break bounds, should he cast for independence, he finds himself hedged in and straightened on every side; he finds himself abandoned by all his powers, and justly left to a state of utter impotence and inaction.

Hence is imputed to the sovereign head, in the constitution of Great Britain, the high and divine attribute, *the King can do no wrong*; for he is so circumscribed from the possibility of transgression, that *no wrong can be permitted to any King in the constitution*.

While the King is thus controuled by the Lords and Commons; while the Lords are thus controuled by the Commons and the King, and while the Commons are thus controuled by the other two estates, from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the general welfare, the three estates may be aptly compared to three pillars divided below at equidistant angles, but united and supported at top, merely by the bearing of each pillar against the others. Take but any of these pillars away, and the other two must inevitably tumble. But while all act on each other, all are equally counteracted, and thereby affirm and establish the general frame.

How

How deplorable then would it be, should this elaborate structure of our happy constitution, within the short period of a thousand years hence, possibly in half the time, fall a prey to effeminacy, pusillanimity, venality, and seduction; like some ancient oak, the lord of the forest, to a pack of vile worms that lay gnawing at the root; or, like Egypt, be contemptibly destroyed by *lice and locusts*.

Should the morals of our constituents ever come to be debauched, *consent*, which is *the salt of liberty*, would then be corrupted, and no salt might be found wherewith it could be seasoned. Those who are inwardly the servants of *sin*, must be outwardly the servants of *influence*. Each man would then be as the Trojan *horse* of old, and carry the enemies of his country within his bosom. Our own appetites would then induce us to betray our own interests; and state policy would seize us a *willing sacrifice to our own perdition*.

Should it ever come to pass, that corruption, like a dark and low-hung mist, should spread from man to man, and cover these lands. Should a general dissolution of manners prevail. Should vice be countenanced and communicated by the leaders of fashion. Should it come to be propagated by ministers among legislators, and by the legislators among their constituents. Should guilt lift up its head without fear of reproach, and avow itself in the face of the sun, and laugh virtue out of countenance by force of numbers. Should public duty turn public strumpet, Should shops come to be advertised, where men may dispose of their honour and honesty at so much per ell. Should public markets be opened for the purchase of consciences with an *eyez*! We bid most to those who set themselves, their trusts, and their country to sale! If such a day, I say, should ever arrive, it will be doom's-day, indeed, to the virtue, the liberty, and constitution of these kingdoms. It would be the same to Great Britain, as it would happen to the universe; should the laws of cohesion cease to operate, and all the parts be dissipated, whose orderly connection now forms the beauty and *commonwealth of nature*. Want of sanity in the material, can never be supplied by any part in the building. A constitution of *public freemen* can never consist of *private prostitutes*.

BROOKE.

We here see the harmony of the whole arises from the mutual connection, and the mutual opposition of the several constituent parts. The three different orders which compose the system, including every part of the community, and pos-
sessing

selling the unlimited authority of the whole, are connected together by a power of ordaining belonging jointly to them all; they are opposed to one another by a power of hindering, belonging separately to each; by the former, they are enabled to provide for the good of the community in general; by the latter, they are disabled from encroaching on each others rights, or oppressing any part. The legislative power, which requires much council and mature deliberation, is very properly placed in the hands of the many; the executive power, which requires immediate action, is, with equal propriety, committed to the one. How hath the wisdom of nature been stretched! how have the veins of the valiant been exhausted, to form, support, reform, and bring to maturity this unexampled constitution, this coalescence and grand effort of every human virtue, *British Liberty!*

If it was possible for any man who hath the least knowledge of our constitution, to doubt in good earnest, whether the preservation of public freedom depends on the preservation of parliamentary freedom, his doubts might be removed, and his opinion decided; one would imagine, by this single obvious remark, that all the designs of our Princes against liberty, since parliaments began to be established on the model still subsisting, have been directed constantly to one of these two points; either to obtain such parliaments as they could govern, or else to stand all the difficulties, and run all the hazards of governing without parliaments. The means principally employed to the first of these purposes have been, undue influences on the elections of members of the House of Commons, and on these members when chosen. When such influences could be employed successfully, they have answered all the ends of arbitrary will; and when they could not be so employed, arbitrary will has been forced to submit to the constitution.

Bolingbroke's Dissertat. Letter XI page 15.

The King at his coronation solemnly swears to the following effect: "That he will govern the people of the realm according to the statutes in parliament made, that is by the representatives of the people; and agreeable to the laws, and customs by them established; that he will cause law and justice in mercy and equity to be dispensed and executed; that he will protect and maintain, to the utmost of his power, the laws of God, the true religion and profession of the gospel, and the general rights and liberties of all the people, whether clergy or laity, without distinction."

Man, without *religious* and *civil liberty*, is a poor and abject animal, without a conscience, bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every silly creature who has the insolence to pretend to authority over him.

All *taxes* are free-gifts for public services. All *laws* are particular provisions or regulations established by *common consent* for gaining protection and safety.

PRICE.

In governing of the people, the King has above him the *law*, by which he is constituted King, and his parliament.

Bracton, l. 2. c. 16.

Glanville, who was a learned Lawyer, and Chief Justice in Henry the second's time (now above 500 Years ago) writ a book of the common laws of England, touching the subject; and he informs us, that there was, in his time, such a thing as high treason against the kingdom. His words are these: "*Crimen quod in legibus dicitur crimen læsæ Majestatis, ut de nece vel seditiōne personæ Domini Regis, vel regni.*"

Glanv. l. 1. c. 2. p. 1.

But why detain ye with the writings of others? Your own resolutions teem with the very soul of liberty; they abound in the bold *relief* of expression; they do honour to the head, but immortalize the heart. Therein ye have openly vowed, in the eye of Heaven, to be *governed only by laws that ye form yourselves*; to fill the senate only with honest men, worthy of the immortal honour of representing a free people, and the holy trust of their lives and properties. Ye confess that ye hold the *right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as well as in yourselves*; ye have given the highest proofs of your brotherly affection, in rejoicing at the *relaxation of the Penal Laws against* your Roman Catholic brethren, as conscious that the God in humanity diffused the precepts of his Gospel in the mildness of his power, and that his *service is perfect freedom*. Ye have rightly resolved, That a seat in parliament was never intended by our constitution as an instrument of emolument to individuals; and that the representative who perverts it to such a purpose, is guilty of betraying the trust reposed in him by the people, for *their*, not *his*, benefit; and, that the people who could tamely behold their suffrages made the tool of private avarice or ambition, are still more criminal than the venal representative, as they become the pandors, without even the wages of prostitution. Ye have rightly observed, that a freeholder is answerable only to God for his vote, and that whosoever shall

attempt to influence him by any other means than that of argument, is an enemy to the freedom of election, and consequently to the real interest of his country. Ye have solemnly declared, that ye will pay obedience to those laws only, which are made by our own legislature, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, as the very terms of our original compact with Great Britain are, that we shall possess and exercise the full enjoyment of the British constitution. As external greatness and constitutional extension were the objects of Great Britain in that compact; as external security and constitutional liberty were the objects of Ireland, whatever leads to separation on the part of the latter, or infringements on the part of the former, is a violation of both. With becoming dignity, ye have reprobated the expression of *that* man, who, shielded only by his insignificance, had the audacity to declare, "*That power makes right.*" Ye have been too long the dupe of venal senators; but the measure of their iniquity is full, and the page of time shall witness their vice, whether fenced with power, characterised by rage, or lulled in the down of dedication: *tremble thou wretch, that hast within thee crimes unwipt of justice!* The fruits of your land has been devoted to stalled Divinity, and pampered wealth; oppression stalked at large, and science, shorn of her beams, shed a feeble ray; but the prospect brightens.

That you have been for the last century under the dominion of England, has been owing not to your want of native spirit, but to the unhappy divisions which, from the many sovereigns that existed early on your island, and the difference of religion which has subsisted since, have prevented you from making one united and entire resistance. Every nation of Europe is witness of your gallantry abroad, and to know that a man is brave, it is sufficient to say 'That he is an Irishman.' You have too long shone the satellite of a larger planet; guard against future contingencies; Britain, recovering courage with the absence of danger, may yet repent of her approach to equity, and step back to despotism once more. It is unsafe to live incautiously connected with a neighbouring people of the same manners, the same language, and superior strength; the propinquity of situation will give frequent opportunities, and the influence arising from the seaminess of language, and similarity of manners, will insensibly prevail, and establish an interest in the smaller kingdom *

* Montesquieu.

The plains are yet warm with the blood of Irishmen in defence of Britain, which, if yet faithful to us, our veins are ready to bleed afresh in the same cause; if not, we shine the centre of our own interest, and danger is a cloud that mocks at a distance. The King of England is also King of Ireland; the liberty of England, is the liberty of Ireland. But why deduce from her the Heavenly gift? It is the privilege of individuals, breathed with our breath, and wrote on the heart by the finger of God! Let no little party-spirit disunite you; twigs gather strength from combination; the dignity of your prince, the aggrandisement of your kingdom, and the welfare of Britain is your object; discuss your affairs with spirit and moderation!

Persevere; your cause is good; your sufferings have been great; your complaints just; your spirit is roused, and you *cannot* be enslaved.

It is a maxim that the *King can do no wrong*; let it be now, that he *shall* do no wrong.

Watch over the sacred freedom of the press* that great medium of information, through which we think aloud; friends will not be wanting on all occasions to wield the pen:

O sacred weapon, left for Truth's defence,
Sole dread of folly, vice, and insolence.

Quid de reliquis republicæ malis? Licet-ne dicere? Mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere. Protestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit, dicendi periculum non recusō.

CIC. ORAT.

I contemplate with joy, and wait with impatience, the happy moment that is to crown your glorious exertions with something more than human felicity, when the unwearied

* Private individuals, unknown to each other, are forced to bear in silence those injuries in which they do not see other people take a concern. Left to their own individual strength, they tremble before the formidable and ever ready power of those who govern; and, as the latter well know, nay, are apt to over-rate the advantages of their own situation, they think they may venture upon any thing. But when they see that all their actions are exposed to public view, that in consequence of the celerity with which all things are communicated, the whole nation seems as it were one continued *irritable* body, no part of which can be touched without exciting an universal *tremor*; they become sensible that the cause of *each* individual is really the cause of *all*; and that to attack the *lowest* among the people, is really to attack the *whole* people.

DELOLME, a Foreigner.

Newenham is to exert himself for the more due representation of the people; when the discerning and comprehensive Flood, with irresistible eloquence, shall help to fix our liberties on the most durable basis; when an *Irish Bill of Rights* shall shine as the rainbow of our political sky; when the placemen and pensioners sink beneath public execration, and the voice of virtue resound in the senate; when the transactions of the bishops, those expletives of society, and other lumber of the church, shall be more duly examined: to doubt of these would be to doubt of our existence! to mistrust that Providence, which has smiled on our endeavours, and the disinterested flame, that pervades the most inanimate bosom. Your progression to perfection is quick, and I see you will not cease till you attain it; the wide, the unbounded prospect lies before you,

Nor "shadows, clouds, nor darkness rest upon it."

Then shall the sun of freedom rush forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoice as a giant to run his course. May it go forth from the uttermost part of the Heaven, and run about to the end of it again, and nothing be hid from the heat thereof.

Before I part the reader, I must make another observation or two, which is, that whoever attempts to suppress Volunteering, or but whispers, that it ought to be done, let his rank or situation be what it may; let him do it with a tongue dipt in oil, and with a countenance dressed by the graces; or with lightening in his eye, and thunder leaping from his brow; whether he does it in the senate or out of the senate; whether tyrannically to a set of trembling dependents, or servilely cringing to some lordly superior, he is qually the detested enemy of Ireland, and should be looked upon with abhorrence: and if we are anxious to have our constitution and liberty fully ascertained, and the extension of our commerce indisputably established on a lasting foundation, there is no other means under Heaven of doing so, but by persevering in the present spirit, and keeping up, unimpaired, our Volunteer army. For, O my country! should your *chosen sons* put off their warlike attire, you may dress in sable, and mourn indeed!

Ulster Volunteers.



At a Meeting of the Representatives of ONE HUNDRED and FORTY THREE CORPS of VOLUNTEERS of the Province of ULSTER, held at DUNGANNON on Friday the 15th Day of February, 1782.

COLONEL WILLIAM IRVINE in the Chair.

WHEREAS it has been asserted, "That Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety, debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or public men."

Resolved unanimously, That a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights.

Resolved unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a *grievance*.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice only) that the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the Law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a *grievance*.

Resolved unanimously, That the ports of this country are, by right, open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king, and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a *grievance*.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice only) That a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration, from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a *grievance*.

A

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is, in itself, unconstitutional, and a *grievance*.

Resolved (with eleven dissenting voices only) that it is our decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of those grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only, who have supported, and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice only) That the right honourable and honourable the minority in parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be, and are hereby appointed a committee till next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer Corps here represented, and as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz.

Ld. Visc. Enniskillen	Major Charles Duffin
Col. Mervyn Archdall	Capt. John Harvey
Col. William Irvine	Capt. Robert Campbell
Col. Rob. McClintock	Capt. Joseph Pollock
Col. John Ferguson	Capt. Wad. Cunningham
Col. John Montgomery	Capt. Francis Evans
Col. Charles Leslie	Capt. John Cope
Col. Francis Lucas	Capt. James Dawson
Col. Tho. M. Jones	Capt. James Atcheson
Col. James Hamilton	Capt. Dan. Eccles
Col. And. Thompson	Capt. Tho. Dickson
Lieut. Col. C. Nesbitt	Capt. David Bell
Lieut. Col. A. Stewart	Capt. John Coulston
Major James Patterson	Capt. Rob. Black
Major Francis Dobbs	Rev. Wm. Crawford
Major James McClintock	Mr. Rob. Thompson.

Resolved unanimously, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer associations in the other

other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect. In consequence of the above resolution, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz.

Col. Merv. Archdall	Capt. Francis Evans
Col. Wm. Irvine	Capt. James Dawson
Col. John Montgomery	Capt. Joseph Pollock
Col. T. M. Jones	Mr. Robert Thompson.
Major Francis Dobbs	

Resolved unanimously, That the Committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present Parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

Resolved unanimously, That the Court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom. (being a part of the British empire) in such a manner as to call upon us to declare and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British Empire.

Resolved (with two dissenting voices only, to this and the following resolution) That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

Resolved therefore, That as Men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the *Penal Laws* against our *Roman Catholic fellow-subjects*, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Thomas Read, having joined a regiment of this province (the first Newry regiment or Newry Legion) and petitioning to be received as part of this body, and under its protection, is accordingly hereby received.

Whereas a letter has been received by the chairman of this meeting from the united corps of the county of Cavan, Colonel Ennery in the chair, declaring their readiness to co-operate

operate with their brother Volunteers in every constitutional support of their rights ;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the said united corps of the said county of Cavan for their spirited resolution, and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be inclosed by the chairman to Colonel Ennery, to be by him communicated to the said united corps, and that they shall have a right, if they choose, to associate with the corps represented at this meeting, to nominate four members to act with those already appointed as a committee by the delegates at this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain Richardson and the Dungannon Light Company, for their politeness in mounting guard this day.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Southern Battalion of the First Ulster Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, for that patriotic zeal which we are convinced induced them to call this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Colonel William Irvine, for his particular propriety and politeness of conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain James Dawson, for his readiness in undertaking the office of Secretary to this meeting, and for his particular attention and ability in the laborious duty thereof.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be published.



To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Minority in both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on—the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you ; and, in a free country, the voice of the people *must* prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal.—We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success.

Signed by order,

WM. IRVINE.

In Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the corps of this province, not represented at the meeting held this day, be, and they are hereby invited to join in the resolutions of said meeting, and to become members of the said association on the most equal footing.

Resolved unanimously, That such corps as may choose to join the said association be, and they are hereby requested to communicate their intentions to our Secretary, Capt. Dawson, Union-lodge, Loughbrickland, who will lay the same before the Chairman and Committee.

WM. IRVINE, Chairman.



ROYAL EXCHANGE, Feb. 17, 1782.

At a numerous Meeting of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers.

WM. McCLEARY, Esq. Capt. Grenadiers, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed on.

NATURAL justice and equity having established the universal rights of mankind upon an equal footing, the inhabitants of Ireland have a claim to a *free trade* with all nations in amity with Great Britain; yet, their ports have been kept shut, their trade has been monopolized, and their industry has but served to aggrandize the proud traders of a neighbouring kingdom.

Necessity, which compels to ingenuity, has lately held up that trade, dignified with the specious name of *Free*; yet, trade which enriches industrious nations, serves but to impoverish the natives of this kingdom; because they have purchased, at an high price, an illusion. Defrauded thus of their birth-right, there is nothing left but œconomy as a counterpoise. This unsubstantial freedom of commerce having originated from the united spirit of the people against the use of *foreign manufactures*, the same spirit which procured the fallacious grant, may yet, by a persevering unanimity, establish a *real*, permanent, and substantial trade.

Therefore resolved; That these our thoughts and opinions be laid before our countrymen, reminding them, at the same time,

time, that not only they, but their posterity, are interested in the event; that, to do away effectually the yoke of monopoly, a non-consumption and non-importation agreement should be entered into without delay.

Resolved, That for the more effectually furthering this great national point, the several Corps (as private citizens) of this city, be requested to send each a Delegate to the Royal Exchange, on Monday the 25th inst. at seven o'clock in the evening.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published three times in Saunders's News-Letter, and Dublin Evening Post.

WILLIAM M'CLEARY, Chairman.



At a full Meeting of the Lawyers Corps (assembled by public Notice) on the 24th Day of February, 1782, they came to the following Resolutions.

Col. EDWARD WESTBY, in the Chair.

RESOLVED (with two dissenting voices only) That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon on the 15th day of February inst.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in Saunders's News-Letter, the Hibernian Journal, and the two Evening Posts.

Signed by order,

SAMUEL ADAMS, Secretary.

CLAN-

Captain DAVID POWER in the Chair.

MYLES-BURKE TULLY, Secretary.

MARYBOROUGH VOLUNTEERS.

Major CASSAN in the chair.

JOHN BALDWIN.

At a Meeting of the Deputies of the First Independent County of Down Regiment, assembled at Newtown-Ards, the 26th of February, 1782, to take into Consideration the Resolutions entered into by the Volunteers met at Dungannon.

Lieut. Col. STEWART in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

RESOLVED, That it is our unalterable opinion, and that we think it a duty incumbent on us, and every individual, or body of individuals, to use their utmost exertions at all times to promote the prosperity and welfare of the community; and that it appears to us to be, now more especially, necessary to step forward, when the decay of public virtue is so apparent, and the dereliction of the public interest become so common.

Resolved, That we are fully satisfied and convinced, that a general union and correspondence among the Volunteer Corps throughout this kingdom, may be of most essential service to this country in the present situation of its affairs; and, that we do not see how it can be so effectually accomplished, as by concurring with the resolutions of the Dungannon meeting.

Resolved, That the Dungannon resolutions are entitled to, and do meet our warmest approbation; which, while they are dictated with moderation, are animated with a spirit suitable to men who have the interest of their country at heart, and who, though they wish to assert their rights with temper, yet, shew their determination to persevere in the pursuit of them with steadiness.

Resolved therefore, That we do most willingly accede to the Dungannon association; and we do hereby declare our firm determination to co-operate with our brethren Volunteers in every legal measure, and constitutional mode of restoring and asserting the rights of this country, and of establishing them on so sure a basis, as may secure them to latest posterity.

Resolved, That the Chairman be requested to transmit the foregoing resolutions to the Secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and to publish the same in the Belfast News-Letter, and Dublin Evening Post.

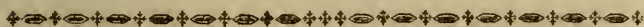
A. STEWART, Chairman.

Major

Major CRAWFORD having taken the Chair,

Resolved, That the warmest thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Lieutenant-colonel, for his constant attention to the regiment, for convening us together, and for his very proper and polite conduct this day in the chair.

JOHN CRAWFORD.



*At a Meeting of the Drumbridge Volunteers, held at Ballydrain,
the 26th of February, 1782.*

Major A. G. STEWART in the Chair.

The Resolutions entered into and published by the Volunteers of Ulster, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th instant, having being read and deliberated, paragraph by paragraph;

RESOLVED unanimously, That this Corps highly approve of, and most cordially accede to, the said resolutions, in the whole and in every part, as calculated to promote the just rights, and no more than the just rights, of Ireland; and we do pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens and men of honour, that we will use our utmost efforts, by every constitutional means, to carry the same into effectual execution.

Resolved unanimously, That our Chairman do communicate our approbation of, and accession to, said resolutions, to Captain James Dawson, Secretary to the Committee of Ulster Volunteers, and inform him, that we cordially accept of the invitation to become members of that Association.

Resolved, That those resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and in all the news-papers of this province.

A. G. STEWART, Chairman.

B

LAWYERS

LAWYERS CORPS.

*At a full Meeting of the Lawyers Corps, the 28th of February,
1782, pursuant to notice.*

Colonel EDWARD WETSBY in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

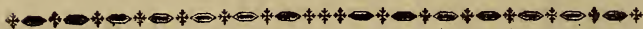
Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we do expect such Declaration of Rights from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them with our lives and fortunes in whatever measures may be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published.

Signed by order,

SAMUEL ADAMS, Secretary.



At a full Meeting of the

LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS,

*Pursuant to general Summons, on Thursday the 28th of February,
1782.*

Lieut. Col. ALEXANDER GRAYDON in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the Delegates of this Corps are hereby empowered, and desired to consent to the proposition, that all the Corps of the county and city of Dublin do form themselves into a legion, to consist of a Squadron of Horse, a Train of Artillery, and one Regiment of Infantry; the latter to adopt one uniform, with only some distinctive mark on the button.

The

The several resolutions, and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented in Dungannon, on the 15th day of February inst. having been read, paragraph by paragraph,

Resolved unanimously, That we do highly approve of the said resolutions and address.

Resolved unanimously, That we hereby pledge ourselves to co-operate with the several Corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the above resolutions be signed by the Secretary, and published in the *Hibernian Journal*, and *Dublin Evening Post*.

Signed by order,

ROBERT WALKER, Sec.



At a Meeting of the Principal Freeholders of the Manors of Teemore and Johnstown, at Hamilton's Bawn, on Thursday the 28th of February, 1782, they agreed to the following Resolutions.

BENJAMIN BELL, Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That this meeting do highly approve of the resolutions entered into at the Dungannon meeting, and in particular, that in favour of our fellow-subjects, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom.

That we highly approve of the address of said meeting to the minority of both houses of parliament.

That we will not use any of the produce of Portugal (not even its salt) until that country shall receive our manufactures on the same terms as those of Great Britain.

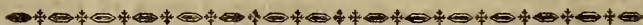
The following vote of thanks to our representatives was unanimously agreed to :

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM BROWNLÖW, and
THOMAS DAWSON, Esqs.

Receive our warmest thanks for supporting Mr. Grattan's motion for an address to our Sovereign; we have heard with surprise, that under the British constitution, *power makes right*; yet, we are bold to say, no power on earth can now
(and

(and we hope never will be able to) effect with force in this kingdom, what is not pretended to be established by its laws.

After the meeting, most of the members, being volunteers, assembled on their parade, and passed the evening in military manœuvre and exercise.



ROYAL EXCHANGE, Dublin, 1st March, 1782.

At a meeting of the Delegates from the following thirteen associated Corps of the City and County of Dublin, this Day, pursuant to public Notice, to wit, Union Light Dragoons, Hibernian Light Dragoons, Dublin Volunteers, Goldsmiths, Lawyers, Merchants, Liberty, Independent Dublin Volunteers, Upper Cross and Coolock, Newcastle and Donore Union, Finglas, Builders and Attornies, in order to take into Consideration the Resolutions and Address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

Colonel TALBOT in the Chair.

The said Resolutions and Address of the *Ulster Volunteers* being first separately read, and the question put on each,

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the said resolutions and address.

Resolved unanimously, that as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions; and, the more effectually to carry those resolutions into execution, we do request the several corps in the province of Leinster to send Delegates, to meet at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, on Wednesday the 17th of April next, at ten o'clock in the morning.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the Delegates who met at Dungannon the 15th of February last, for appointing nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with other Volunteer Associations in the other provinces, and that we shall be happy to confer and deliberate with them upon the
most

most constitutional means of carrying their resolutions into Execution.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of the last resolution, signed by the chairman, be sent to the nine gentlemen of the said committee.

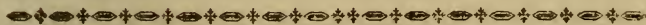
Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to our secretary, for his great trouble and attention to the business of this association.

R. TALBOT, Chairman.

Col. Talbot having left the chair, it was afterwards resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to him for his very upright and impartial conduct therein.

By order,

J. T. ASHENHURST, Sec.



LOYAL LIMERICK VOLUNTEERS.

At a general Meeting of the Loyal Limerick Volunteers, commanded by Brigadier General Thomas Smyth, at the Council-Chamber, Limerick, March the 1st, 1782.

Captain GEORGE PITT in the chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To Colonel Mervyn Archdall, and the other members of the Committee, appointed to communicate with such Volunteer Corps as approve of the Resolutions entered into at *Dunannon*, on the 15th of February, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

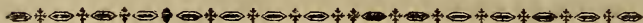
WE, the Loyal Limerick Volunteers, impressed with the strongest conviction of the necessity of your late spirited and patriotic resolutions, take this early and public opportunity of declaring our fullest approbation of them, and our determined resolution to co-operate in such constitutional measures as shall appear most expedient for rendering them effectual.

As citizens of a free state, we hold ourselves indispensably obliged at all times to assert our rights and privileges, and should the complexion of the times render a peculiar attention

to this great object necessary, we trust that our conduct will fully evince the sincerity of this declaration.

Convinced of the rectitude of your intentions, and of the great share which you have always had in the emancipation of your country, we read with particular pleasure the resolves of your body, and shall ever feel the greatest satisfaction in a communication of sentiments with men who have thus honourably distinguished themselves as supporters of their country's rights.

Signed by order,
MITCHELL BENNIS, Sec. L. L. V.



RAFORD BRIGADE.

At a meeting of the Raford Brigade, held at the New Inn, in the County of Galway, the first of March, 1782.

The following Resolutions were unanimously entered into.

Captain HYA. CUNIFF in the chair.

RESOLVED, That true praise, and heart-felt thanks are most justly due to the honest spirit, the sterling loyalty, and liberality of sentiment, that in a peculiar manner, stamp the resolutions of the Ulster Delegates at Dungannon.

Resolved, That we will use every right, and exert every efficacious and constitutional means, as Irishmen, freemen, and freeholders, to shew that they are ours also.

Resolved, That with true gladness of heart, we behold bigotry and religious prejudices giving way in every sect to true christian liberty and brotherly love; but that notwithstanding indulgence in point of religious opinions must be considered a bounteous, a charitable, and manly act, characteristic of Protestant benevolence, it is still but a partial restoration of our brethrens natural rights; defective to the grand end, it must unite with all our rights, constitutional and commercial, to beget the justly stiled confidential strength and glory of a nation.

Resolved, That to neglect supporting and cultivating our natural rights, the gift of heaven, and which no civil institution can legally prevent, but ought to secure to the state,
and

and use every kind and parental endeavour to render inviting and improvable, would be ingratitude to God, disaffection to our country, and injustice to our posterity.

Resolved, That as laws ought to guide the liberty of the people to their strength and happiness, and of consequence beget the dignity, security, and internal satisfaction of the sovereign, and not cramp or pervert it, we do hereby promise and engage, that we will most cordially unite and co-operate with our virtuous countrymen and brethren, as shall be deemed most expedient and effectual (becoming good and faithful subjects) to remove the many illegal, unconstitutional, and intolerable restraints and checks that now, or may hereafter, tend to destroy the final end of every connection between the sovereign and people, and restore and preserve to our country, her legal and rightful constitution—*Her birth-right.*

Resolved, That the warmest thanks and acknowledgments of this corps be given to our colonel, Denis Daly, Esq; for his unremitted and unwearied exertions and aid, to give us a title to the name of fellow-citizens, in seventeen hundred and eighty two; for his supporting the police and quiet of this country, and for his wonted and honestly animated alacrity, in convening us at this crisis; and that we do pledge ourselves, as *Irishmen* and *Volunteers*, to him and our country, that we will endeavour to be at least not unworthy part of the virtuous *whole.*

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

EDMOND O'DONNEL, Sec.



At a meeting of the corps of Dublin Volunteers, at the Eagle, Euftace-ftreet, on Friday the 1st of March, 1782.

His Grace the DUKE of LEINSTER in the chair.

RESOLVED, That the resolutions of this corps, of the 9th of June 1780, be re-published three times, in the Dublin Journal, and which are as follow.

Resolved, That Great Britain and Ireland, are, and ought to be, inseparably connected, by being under the dominion of
of

of the same king, and enjoying equal liberty and similar constitutions.

That it is the duty of every good citizen to maintain the connection of the two countries, and the freedom and independence of this kingdom.

That the King, Lords, and commons, of Ireland only, are competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm, and that we will not obey, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes.

Signed by order,

JOHN WILLIAMS, Sec.



DROGHEDA ASSOCIATION.

At a full meeting of the Drogheda Association (convened by public notice) at the Tholsel of Drogheda, the 1st of March, 1782.

Colonel HUGH MONTGOMERY LYONS in the chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do approve of, and highly applaud the spirited resolutions and address of the Delegates from the several corps of Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon, the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with our fellow-volunteers in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances justly complained of in said resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That colonel Ogle, colonel Lyons, major Cheshire, captain Fairtlough, and lieutenant Holmes, or any three of them, be appointed a committee, on behalf of this corps, to communicate with the committee of nine, appointed on behalf of the Ulster corps to meet in Dublin.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to colonel Lyons, for his polite conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by captain Fairtlough, secretary to this meeting, and published in the Dublin and General Evening Posts, and Drogheda Journal.

OLIVER FAIRTLOUGH, Sec.

MERCHANTS, &c. of BELFAST.

Belfast, March 1, 1782.

To Travers Hartley, Esq; one of the Representatives in Parliament for the City of Dublin.

S I R,

WE the merchants and other principal inhabitants of the town of Belfast, take this earliest opportunity to offer you our sincere congratulations on the happy event of your being elected a representative of the city of Dublin. We consider it as a proof of the freedom and independence of the Electors of that city. We rejoice in it, as an addition to the wisdom and virtue of the Senate: from the choice of such men we foresee the confirmation of all our national rights; and we behold it as a pledge, that the principles of trade, and facts regarding our commerce, shall be more clearly explained, and more fully stated to the Commons of Ireland, than they ever can be, without the aid of men possessed of real commercial knowledge.

We most sincerely wish, that on every future occasion the rest of the kingdom may follow the illustrious example of the City of Dublin, both in the uninfluenced wisdom of their choice, and the incorruptible freedom and independency of their proceedings,

We have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servants,

Val. Jones, Chair-	James Hamill;	Samuel M'Tier,
man.	Hu. M'Ilwain,	John Mathers,
Tho. Sinclair,	William Seed,	T. Bateson and Co.
James Weir,	Robert Linn,	T. Hardin and Co.
Thomas Hyde,	Herc. M'Comb,	Stewarts, Thomson
Richard Bateson,	James Stevenson,	and Co.
W. and J. Brown,	Alex. Armstrong,	R. Hu. & A. Hynd-
Thomas Lyons,	Hugh Crawford,	ham,
J. and J. Holmes,	James Pinkerton,	Samuel Brown,
W. Cunningham,	James Ferguson,	Brown, Cunning-
Thomas Gregg,	James Colt Smite,	ham and Co.
J. Campbell & Co.	Daniel Blow,	Annesly and Lilly,
Wm. Ramsey,	David Tomb,	Robert Gotty,
Will. Irvin,	Henry Joy,	Isaac Miller,

C

Tho.

Tho. Stewart,	James Park,	Rob. Thomson,
Robert Wallace,	John Bashford,	Lukes, Murphy,
John Ewing,	Tho. Andrews,	Hazlett & Co.
And. Hyndman,	Thomas Lyle,	Wm. Boyle,
Alex. Arthur,	John Smith,	D. Berweck & Co.
Cunning. Greg,	Alexander Orr,	Robert Knox,
Sam. Alhmore,	Robert Gordon,	Robert Lylburn,
Robert Carlon,	William Magee,	Walter Crawford,
John Neilson,	James Magee,	Wilson, Joyce and
J. Henderson,	John Hay,	Kennedy,
Arch. Scott,	John Luke,	James Ferguson,
Ja. Graham,	John Craig,	Rob. Stevenson,
Francis Taggart,	Michael Linn,	Wm. Harrison,
Patrick Gaw,	David M'Tier,	John Brown,
Jos. Stevenson,	M'Kedy & Steven-	Nath. Wilson,
Cavan and Seed,	son,	Robert Joy,
Tho. Hardin,	Crawford and Cun-	John Carlon,
Wm. Bryson,	ningham,	John Clarke,
James Park, jun.	Tho. Milliken,	James Beggs.
Alex. Blackwell,	John Campbell,	

BELFAST BATTALION.

At a Meeting of the Belfast Battalion, March 1, 1782.

Reverend JAMES BRYSON in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the following address be transmitted by our Chairman, Major Brown, Captains Cunningham and Bateson, to *Travers Hartley*, Esq; one of the representatives in parliament for the city of Dublin.

S I R,

WHEN you were called forth by your fellow-citizens to stand as a Candidate at the late election of a representative for the metropolis of the kingdom, we felt the greatest satisfaction; the invitation did honour to their discernment and wisdom; and no more than justice to your excellent and acknowledged character. When the attempt to send a member to the House of Commons was crowned with success, through your perseverance, and the firmness, integrity, public virtue, and unconquerable independence of the electors, our satisfaction was raised into emotions of a more excellent nature—such emotions as the triumphs of struggling virtue must ever inspire.

As the patriotic conduct of your fellow-citizens has done honour to the metropolis, we hope that the illustrious example will convey instruction to the whole kingdom, and universally excite that spirit of freedom and independence in the choice of the representative body, which alone can restore to us our injured rights, and preserve us from the destructive influence of senatorial venality and court dependence.

Permit us, therefore, to congratulate you, Sir, to congratulate the city of Dublin, to congratulate the whole kingdom on this happy event: an event which has done you the greatest honour, added one man more of unsuspected virtue to the senate, and taught the nation how to struggle with success for liberty.

May your parliamentary conduct reflect back on your constituents as much honour as they have already conferred on you.

We have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble servants.

Signed by order of the Belfast battalion,
JAMES BRYSON, Chairman and Chapl. of 1st company,
JOHN BROWN, Major of the Belfast battalion,
WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Capt. first company,
RICHARD BATESON, Capt. Whitehouse Volunteers.

To the Gentlemen composing the Belfast Battalion.

Gentlemen,

I DO not wonder that a body of men, formed not only for the protection of their country against foreign enemies, but for the constant assertion of its constitutional rights, should highly enjoy the triumph of the free and independent electors of the metropolis over the exertions of power and undue influence; there is a sympathy between virtuous minds. The favourable idea which you have conceived of me, corresponding with that of my worthy fellow-citizens, does me great honour. In acting a part agreeably to the sense of my constituents, which I shall ever invariably do, I shall be secure of your approbation, and that of every friend to his country throughout the whole kingdom. With the heart-felt satisfaction attending a consciousness of integrity, to find my conduct approved of, by the wisest and best of my fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects, will ever yield to me the highest enjoyment.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

TRAVERS HARTLEY.

Dublin, March 6, 1782.



BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY.

At a Meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, held at the Donagall Arms, on the 2d of March, 1782.

Lieutenant JOHN GALT SMITH in the Chair,

RESOLVED unanimously, That the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, who met at Dungannon on the 15th ult. are entitled to our warmest thanks for their conduct on that day; and we request they may accept of the same as a tribute justly due to their wisdom, temper, spirit and firmness on that important occasion; and that the thanks of this Corps be given to the gentlemen who represented us at that meeting, for the propriety of their conduct, so perfectly coinciding with the sentiments and instructions of their constituents.

Resolved unanimously, That the following address to Travers Hartley, Esq; and the Free and Independent Electors of the city of Dublin, be signed by the Chairman, and published

lished with these resolutions, and that the Chairman do enclose a copy of said address to Mr. Hartley.

JOHN GALT SMITH, Chairman.

.....✱✱✱.....

To Travers Hartley, Esq; and the Free and Independent Electors of the City of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

AT a time when the instructions of constituents are by so many of the representative body treated with contempt; when the Delegate, on great national questions, presumes to act contrary to the directions of those who sent him, and from whom alone he derives his power; and when the mandate of a minister, not the interest of a nation, forms the only rule of conduct to so many of those who ought to guard the peoples rights, we rejoice to see a man of known virtue and incorruptible integrity chosen a representative in parliament for the metropolis of the kingdom: we honour the wisdom, the perseverance, and the firmness of the electors; we revere the many virtues of the elected; with sanguine hopes we marked the progress of the contest in which you have been engaged, your success has been answerable to our earnest wishes; accept then, on the auspicious occasion, the congratulations of the Belfast Volunteer Company, a body of men, whose hearts, like your own, beat warm in their country's cause. We sincerely congratulate you, ourselves, and the nation, on the glorious triumph you have obtained over the undue influence exerted against you; and we offer you our warmest thanks for the noble struggle you have made in favour of the *Freedom of Election*; the success which has crowned that struggle, we hail as a happy omen, and hope your bright example will be followed by all the Electors of Ireland.

We live in a country, which, from its past conduct, merited to be well represented in the *present* parliament, and may we be no longer admitted among free citizens and free soldiers, if we do not strive to be better represented in the *next*.

By order of the Belfast Volunteer Company,

JOHN GALT SMITH, Chairman.

.....✱✱✱.....

To the Belfast Volunteer Company.

Gentlemen,

IN your truly patriotic address, you have done me the honour to connect me with the free and independent Electors of the city of Dublin, the most honourable connection I can possibly

possibly have, and which, by my conduct, I shall ever be careful to preserve. Those virtuous citizens, as you justly observe, have set a bright example to their fellow-subjects throughout the kingdom, worthy of general imitation; they have manifested their sense of the importance of the *freedom of election*, and their firmness in that great cause has been attended with suitable success—may your future exertions, of a similar nature, be attended with equal success.

It remains now for me to evince, by my parliamentary conduct, that my professions to my fellow-citizens have been sincere, and to maintain in practice that doctrine, which I have always held in opinion, *obedience to the instructions of constituents*, to be the indispensable duty of representatives.

The very favourable opinion you have conceived of me personally, does me great honour; and you may be assured I set a just value on it.

I have the honour to be,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

TRAVERS HARTLEY.

SLANE VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Corps of Volunteers of the Barony of Slane, County Meath, assembled on their Parade, 3d March, 1782, the following Resolutions and Address were Unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved, That no power on earth can make laws to bind the people of this land but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland

Resolved, That the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon the 15th of February last, are such as ought to be adopted by every true friend to this country, and that therefore we will, as soldiers and citizens, support to the utmost of our power, the several Corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in these resolutions.

Resolved,

Resolved, That an address be presented to John Forber, Esq; 2nd. Lieutenant of this Corps, and representative in parliament for the Borough of Ratoath.

Resolved, That the above resolutions, and the following
address, be published four times in the Dublin Evening Post,
and Faulkner's Journal.

Signed by order, FRANCIS ADAMS, Sec.

To JOHN FORBES, Esq.

ACCEPT the sincere and hearty thanks, which we, your brother Volunteers, thus unanimously present to you, for the uniform and upright conduct to which you have so steadily adhered since your entering into parliament, but particularly for your continued, though as yet ineffectual, endeavours to render the judges independent of the crown; and be assured, that the satisfaction which we feel in offering to you these our acknowledgements, is considerably heightened by being convinced (from a long and thorough knowledge of your principles) that you will persevere in that line of conduct by which you have so justly merited the approbation and confidence of your countrymen.

Signed, FRANCIS ADAMS, Sec.

*To the Corps of Volunteers of the Barony of Slane, in the
County of Meath.*

Gentlemen,

I AM much flattered by the approbation of a Corps, composed of gentlemen so peculiarly distinguished by their constitutional principles and spirited exertions. I shall certainly continue to use my best endeavours to obtain a law to render the judges independent of the crown, as the principle and necessity of this measure is universally felt and acknowledged.

I entertain the most sanguine expectations, that the general wishes of the people of Ireland will, in this instance, be no longer resisted. I beg leave to assure you, that it shall be my constant study to persevere in that line of conduct which may most contribute to the welfare and prosperity of this country, and render me deserving of a continuance of your good opinion and confidence.

I have the honour of being, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

Much obliged humble servant,

JOHN FORBES.

Drogheda,

March 9, 1782.

CLONMEL INDEPENDENTS.

*At a Meeting of the Clonmel Independents, on Sunday the 3d
of March 1782.*

Col. BAGWELL in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That the late resolutions of the Delegates from the Ulster Associations, entered into at Dungannon on Friday the 15th of February last, appear to us, to be truly spirited and patriotic, and if adopted by the different volunteer corps of this kingdom, cannot fail of being productive of the happiest consequences.

Resolved therefore, That a meeting of delegates from all the volunteer corps of the county Tipperary, is hereby requested, on Thursday the 14th instant, at Clonmel, in order to declare the sentiments of their constituents, on such resolutions as their wishes, and the exigency of public affairs demand.

Resolved, That these resolutions be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post, and Clonmel Gazettee.

Signed by order,
THOMAS MORTON, Sec.

C O R K U N I O N.

*At a numerous meeting of the Cork Union, held the 3d of March,
1782, pursuant to Notice.*

HENRY HICKMAN, Commandant, in the Chair.

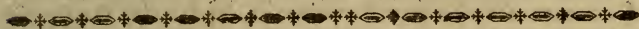
RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions entered into at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, by the delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, as they breath the spirit of citizens and soldiers, determined to assert their constitutional rights, and diffuse the liberal sentiments of toleration, so essentially necessary in a free country.

Resolved unanimously, That, as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved;

Resolved, That these resolutions be transmitted to captain Dawson by the chairman; and also that they be published in the Freeman's Journal, Dublin Evening Post, and Cork papers.

HENRY HICKMAN, C. Union, Chairman.



DOWN VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Down Volunteers, assembled by public notice, at the Court-house in Downpatrick, on Sunday the 3d of March, 1782, to take into consideration the Resolutions and Address entered into, and published by the Meeting of Delegates from the Volunteers of Ulster, assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th Day of February last,

Captain HENRY WEST in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address entered into by those gentlemen; and, as we think them dictated by the spirit of moderation, liberality of sentiment and patriotism, we are determined to support and accede to them, both in our private and public capacities, as citizens and Volunteers.

Resolved, That our chairman do communicate our approbation of, and accession to, said resolutions, to the secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and inform him that we most willingly embrace the invitation to become members of that association.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order,

HENRY WEST.



At a full Meeting of the different Volunteer Corps of the City of Waterford, the Cavalry, Artillery, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, assembled by public Notice on the 3d Day of March, 1782,

Captain HANNIBAL WILLIAM DOBBYN in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

D

Resolved,

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we do expect such declaration of right from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them with our lives and fortunes in whatever measures may be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to captain Hannibal William Dobbyn, for calling this meeting, and for his attention and politeness of conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be published in the Waterford Chronicle, and in the Dublin Evening Post.



LOYAL SLIGO VOLUNTEERS,

On Parade assembled the 4th of March, 1782, unanimously came to the following Resolution:

THAT, as citizens and soldiers, we do heartily approve of the Dungannon address to the minority of both houses of parliament, and do most cheerfully adopt their resolutions of the 15th of February last, for obtaining a redress of grievances; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, co-operate with them and the several volunteer corps of this kingdom, for so desirable a purpose.

JOHN ORMSBY, Lieut. Col.

Ordered, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Sligo Journal.

GAL-

GALWAY VOLUNTEERS.

At a general Meeting of the Galway Volunteers, held at the Tholsel this Day, March, 4, 1782.

Major JOHN BLAKE in the Chair.

Came to the following Resolutions:—

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin and Galway Evening Posts, and Connaught Journal.

Signed by order,

JOHN KERGAN, Sec.



At a full Meeting of the Boyne Volunteer Corps of the City of Cork, assembled by public Notice, this 4th of March, 1782.

Major BASS in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, the 15th February ult.

Resolved, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a speedy redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That our chairman do forward to the secretary of the Ulster Volunteers, a copy of these our resolutions, and also a copy to John Bagwell Esq; our Colonel.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be presented to our worthy major, for his particular propriety and steadiness of conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be presented to our worthy secretary, lieutenant Charles Willcocks, for his particular propriety of conduct.

Resolved, That these our resolutions be printed in the Cork and Dublin news-papers.

We

*We the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Westmeath,
at a General Assizes held at Mullingar, in and for said County,
on Monday the 4th Day of March, 1782.*

RESOLVED unanimously, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

That the law, vulgarly called Poyning's Law, is unconstitutional, and a grievance, and ought to be repealed.

That a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration, from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

That the independence of the judges of this realm, is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England. That a bill, therefore, for making the commissions of judges *Quam diu se bene jesserint*, is absolutely necessary, to render them independent, more especially as their salaries have been lately increased.

That the numerous absentees of this kingdom, from the immense sums annually remitted to them, are highly detrimental, and very much contribute to the impoverishing the nation, and that the above evil is every day increasing, even to an alarming degree.

That a tax upon absentees, would very much contribute to the prosperity, honour and happiness of this kingdom, and that the said tax should be appropriated to national purposes.

That we consider the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

That we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that we conceive it to be a measure fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

That we do think it now absolutely necessary to declare, that the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, are the representatives of, and derive their authority solely from, the people.

That we do think it highly necessary, for the representatives of the people, to demand a speedy declaration of the rights of this kingdom.

That we will support with our lives and fortunes, our representatives, in conjunction with the hereditary branch of the legislature, in every measure, which may tend to make so glorious and necessary a demand effectual.

That

That, as it is the undoubted right of free and independent electors to instruct their representatives, so it is the duty of representatives faithfully to speak the sense of the people.

We, therefore, as free electors of the county of Westmeath, do hereby instruct our representatives, to join in every measure, which may tend to promote all the objects declared in the above resolutions.

That a copy of the above resolutions be presented to each of our representatives.

That the above resolutions, together with the answers of our representatives, be printed in the Dublin, and Westmeath Journals, and Dublin, and General Evening Posts.

Wm. Fetherstone, Sheriff

Cuth. Fetherstone, Foreman

Delvin

Robert Moore

James Nugent

Lavallin Nugent

Guft. R. Hume

Wm. Smyth

H. Monk

James Fetherstone

Denis Daly

George Clibborn

Charles Levinge

Wm. Judge

Peter Delamar

John Lyons

Robert Hodson

Christopher Dardis

James M. Berry

Anthony Nugent

Nicholas Gay

R. Reynell,

To the High Sheriff, and Grand Jury of the County of Westmeath.

Gentlemen,

WITH the sincerest pleasure, I receive the intimation of your sentiments on all occasions, and shall always chearfully comply with your desires, as I am convinced they will be founded on principles well calculated to preserve that harmony which should ever subsist through the whole of the British empire.

I shall never lose sight of those great objects which you now recommend to my attention, and shall steadily pursue every measure to obtain them, that shall appear to me to be wise, constitutional, and effectual.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very obliged, and faithful servant,

Bowden-park,
6th of March, 1782.

ROBERT ROCHFORD.

To the High Sheriff, and Grand Jury of the County of Westmeath.

Gentlemen,

I AM fully convinced of the respect I owe to the instructions of my constituents, and shall always cheerfully co-operate with their sentiments. I shall obey with particular satisfaction your commands intimated to me this day, by pursuing such a line of conduct in parliament, as I humbly trust, will fully evince my earnest wishes faithfully to discharge the duties of that situation in which your favour has placed,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged, humble servant,
BEN. CHAPMAN.

*Mullingar,
March 6, 1782.*



AUGHNACLOY VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Aughnacloy Volunteer Light Infantry,
and Train of Artillery Companies, commanded by Nathaniel
Montgomery, Esq; on Monday the 4th of March, 1782.*

WILLIAM MOORE, Esq; in the Chair. .

WE having deliberately considered the resolutions entered into and published by the Ulster meeting at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and it being our unalterable opinion they contain nothing more than what the true representatives of the people in parliament have hitherto in vain most ardently sought for ;

Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of every part of said resolutions, and pledge ourselves, as men of honour, that we will give the same every constitutional support in our power.

Resolved, That our Chairman do communicate our approbation of said resolutions to captain James Dawson, Secretary to the Ulster meeting, and that the same be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

WILLIAM MOORE, Esq; Chairman.

At

At a full Meeting of the Corps of Tipperary Light Dragoons, and Tipperary Infantry, assembled by public notice on Monday the 4th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions were proposed, and unanimously agreed to :

Lieutenant Colonel BAKER in the Chair.

THAT we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon on the 15th day of February last, and are happy to declare our concurrence with them in all their sentiments upon civil, religious, and commercial freedom.

That we will co-operate with them in all constitutional modes, to obtain a redress of all the grievances they complain of, and think a thorough communication between the Volunteer Corps of Ireland, a step most materially conducive to that purpose.

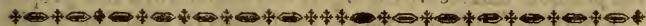
That we do appoint Edward Moore, Esq; to be our Delegate in Dublin, in order to communicate with the Ulster, and such other Volunteer Associations as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

That the doctrine, that *power gives right*, tends to lessen and disjoint the whole frame of civil society, and to introduce universal anarchy and confusion; and that a claim or attempt to govern this kingdom by such an absurd and wicked maxim, is unconstitutional and a *grievance*.

Ordered, that the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, the Clonmell Gazette, and Munster Journal.

Signed by order,

ROBERT EVANS, Secretary.



At a Quarterly Meeting of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, held at the Eagle in Eustace-street, Dublin, on Tuesday, March 5, 1782.

Major CANNIER in the Chair.

WHEREAS the people of Ireland are a free people, with a parliament of their own, to whose authority alone they are subject: Now, we the corps of

INDE-

INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS,

affiliated for the defence of the realm, the law, and the constitution, do agree unanimously to the following resolutions for the rule of our conduct, viz.

Resolved, That we do not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any parliament, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That we will, in every capacity, oppose the execution of any statute imposed on us by the pretended authority of the British parliament.

Resolved, That we will support with our lives and fortunes, the parliament of Ireland in declaring and asserting its rights.

Signed by order,

S. CANNIER, Chairman.



LIMERICK INDEPENDENTS.

At a full Meeting of the Corps of Limerick Independents, assembled at the Council-Chamber, on the 6th Day of March, 1782, they came to the following Resolutions:

Major CALEB POWELL in the Chair.

The resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers represented at Dungannon, the 15th day of February last, being read,

RESOLVED, (with only one dissenting voice) That they meet our warmest approbation, for the truly patriotic sentiments conveyed in them; and that, as volunteers and citizens, we are unalterably fixed in these principles, and are determined to adopt and support every constitutional measure that can promote and secure the rights and liberties of a free people.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Limerick papers.

Signed by order,

JOHN HARRISON, Secy

AUGHRIM

AUGHRIM VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Aughrim Volunteer Corps of the City of Cork, held the 6th Day of March, 1782, pursuant to Notice.

EBENEZAR MORRISON, Major, in the Chair.

RESOLVED (with two dissenting voices only) That as Irishmen and Free Citizens, earnest in the pursuit of, and resolved to protect and defend the civil liberties of our country, and encourage toleration and liberty of sentiment, we highly commend and approve of the resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, assembled by their delegates at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and are firmly resolved and agreed, as citizens, volunteers, and free agents, breathing the spirit of liberty, to co-operate with the volunteer corps represented at Dungannon, in every proper and constitutional mode, to obtain a speedy and effectual redress of the grievances in their resolutions mentioned.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be forwarded by our chairman to our colonel, Richard Longfield, Esq; and also to the secretary of the Ulster Volunteers.

Resolved, That these our resolutions be published in the Cork News-Papers, the Dublin Evening Post, and Hibernian Journal.

EBENEZAR MORRISON,
Major Aughrim Volunteers.

At a Meeting of the Grand Jury and Freeholders, of the County of Meath, at Trim, convened by the Sheriff, on Thursday the 7th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions and Address, were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That no power on earth can make laws to bind the people of this land, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them would be to abdicate the representation.

To H. L. ROWLEY, and GOR. LOWTHER, *Esqrs.*

Gentlemen,

FULLY convinced that Free Trade, and Free Constitution, are inseparably connected, and that nothing can so effectually secure the one, and establish the other in this kingdom, as the independence of our legislature;

We earnestly intreat you, to use your utmost endeavours in the House of Commons, to procure a declaration of the rights of the parliament of Ireland: and we solemnly pledge ourselves to support, with our lives and fortunes, our representatives in parliament, in whatever constitutional measures may be necessary to render such a declaration a permanent security.

Fully assured, that you will omit no opportunity in parliament of promoting the welfare of your country, we do not at present recommend particularly any other subject to your consideration and attention.

From your knowledge of the interests of Ireland, you cannot be ignorant that, in many instances (exclusive of that already mentioned) the immediate interposition of parliament is absolutely necessary for the relief of the people of this kingdom.

We cannot but observe with concern, that, notwithstanding your virtuous efforts as our representatives, not one of the measures we formerly recommended to your consideration have yet been effectuated.

We have hitherto refrained from repeating our instructions to you, not from any doubt of the propriety of those measures, or any indifference to the success of your exertions, but from a full confidence and daily expectation, that the moment would, before this period, have arrived, when all due efficacy would have been given to the just and ardent wishes of the people of Ireland.

Resolved, That the above resolutions and address, be signed by the chairman, and presented by the sheriff, to our representatives.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the sheriff, for his readiness in calling this meeting, and also, to Hamilton Gorges, Esq; for the propriety of his conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions and address be printed six times in the Dublin Journal, and General Evening Post.

HAM. GORGES.

*To the Grand Jury and Freeholders of the County of Meath,
convened by the Sheriff, on Thursday the 7th of March, at
Trim, 1782.*

Gentlemen,

IT gives me great pleasure to receive your opinions and advice for my parliamentary conduct. Your approbation, and the confidence you place in my proper behaviour in parliament, meet my ardent wishes. I cannot better shew my respectful attention to your unanimous resolutions, and the sentiments expressed in your address to me, than by declaring, I intirely coincide with the principles contained in them; and that from inclination, as well as compliance with your opinions, I shall, as much as possible, endeavour to bring these essential rights of the people of Ireland to be effectually established by every constitutional means.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect and gratitude,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and devoted

Friend and servant,

*Dublin,
11th of March, 1782.*

HER. LANGFORD ROWLEY.



*To the Grand Jury and Gentlemen Freeholders of the County of
Meath.*

Gentlemen,

I HAVE received, and shall with pleasure observe, your instructions, and am happy to find they coincide with my own sentiments and conduct in parliament; and sorry I am to inform you, that my endeavours have proved hitherto ineffectual.

From your spirit and perseverance, the time cannot be far distant, when the constitutional rights of our country must be acknowledged and established.

You

You may be assured, gentlemen, that I shall warmly embrace every opportunity that may promote the prosperity and welfare of this kingdom, which I shall ever support with my life and fortune.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest esteem and respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and very humble servant,
GORGES LOWTHER.



YOUGHAL VOLUNTEERS and RANGERS.

At a numerous Meeting of the Youghal Independent Volunteers, and Youghal Independent Rangers, assembled by public notice on the 7th of March, 1782.

JOHN SWAYNE, Major of the Youghal Independent Rangers, in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several Corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman do transmit a copy of these our resolutions to captain Dawson (Secretary to the Dungannon meeting) at Union Lodge, Loughbrickland.

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman do transmit copies of these resolutions to colonel Uniacke, commanding officer of the Youghal Independent Rangers.

Resolved unanimously, That the above resolutions be published in the Cork papers and Dublin Evening Post.

JOHN SWAYNE, Chairman.

Captain BOLES, of the Youghal Independent Volunteers, having taken the Chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Major Swayne, for his very proper conduct this day in the chair.

RICHARD BOLES.

TOWN-HOUSE, BELFAST, March 7, 1782.

At a very numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants called by a public notice, dated the 4th instant, and signed by 25 of the principal inhabitants.

THOMAS SINCLAIR, Esq; in the Chair.

THE requisition calling the meeting, and pointing out the business proposed for deliberation, was read by the Chairman, after which the resolutions entered into by the Ulster Volunteers, at Dungannon, on the 15th ult. were read, paragraph by paragraph;

1st, Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of, and cordially accede to, the said resolutions, as calculated to promote the just rights, and no more than the just rights, of Ireland, as conceived with temper and moderation, yet, animated with a spirit becoming men determined to be free.

2d, Resolved unanimously, That the said Volunteers are entitled to our warmest thanks, which we request they may accept as a tribute justly due to their wisdom, temper, and firmness on that important occasion.

3d, Resolved unanimously, That it is our decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of the grievances in said resolutions mentioned, and to co-operate with the said Volunteers, and all others who have acceded, or shall accede thereunto, as with our fellow-electors, and the people at large, by every constitutional means in our power, to render such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

4th, Resolved unanimously, That we will, and we hereby do pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election support those, and those only, who have supported, and will most solemnly and unequivocally engage to support us in our pursuit of such redress.

5th, Resolved unanimously, That the right honourable and honourable the minority in parliament, who have supported our constitutional rights, are entitled to our warmest thanks; that we honour, esteem and revere them, as the guardians of our liberties and rights; that we most cordially approve of the address to them published by the Ulster Volunteers; that it speaks our thoughts in language which cannot be mended, and therefore we desire to be considered as sincere subscribers to it.

6th,

6th, Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this principle by any of them, or a conduct directly contrary thereto, would be to abdicate the representation.

7th, Resolved unanimously, That if any Irishman has been, or shall be hardy enough to assert, directly or indirectly, that any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland had, have, or ought to have a right to make laws to bind this realm, in any case whatsoever, every such man insults the majesty of the King of Ireland, the dignity of its parliament, and the whole body of its people; is an enemy to this kingdom, and ought to be reprobated as such by every friend of Ireland.

8th, Resolved unanimously, That it be, and it hereby is, most earnestly recommended to all the inhabitants of this province, to assemble in their several towns and parishes, to deliberate on those matters, and in case they shall approve thereof, to enter into similar associations; as we are fully convinced, that nothing is now wanting to establish and secure the freedom and prosperity of Ireland, but the avowed union of its people,

THOMAS SINCLAIR, Chairman.



COUNTY of WATERFORD.

At a Meeting of the Grand Jury of said County, at the General Assizes held at Blackfryars, in said County, the 8th Day of March, 1782.

RESOLVED, That we will not vote for any man to represent us in parliament, for any county, city, or borough, who declares, or in actions supports, that the members of the House of Commons are not the representatives of, and derive their power from, the people.

Resolved, That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we will support the representatives of the people with our lives and fortunes, in whatever measures may be necessary to render the above declaration effectual.

By order of the Grand Jury,

JOHN BERESFORD, Foreman.

COUNTY of WEXFORD.

Head-Quarters, *Enniscorthy*, March the 8th, 1782.

At a full Meeting, held at the Bear-Inn, of the First Irish Volunteers.

Licut. Col. DERENZY in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the call of the province of Leinster for the 17th of April next, to consider of the truly spirited and patriotic resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, may be of the greatest utility to this kingdom, and that therefore a Delegate from our body do attend.

Resolved unanimously, That our worthy Colonel, Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart. be requested to act for us at said meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That we do not think it necessary to instruct our representatives on their parliamentary conduct, their early zeal and attention in the Volunteer cause convincing us, that they will, on every occasion, take a decided part in support of the constitutional rights of their country.

Resolved unanimously, That they merit on any future election our warmest support, and the support of every true friend of this country, for their patriotic, firm, and virtuous conduct in parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That we will support our present representatives with our lives and fortunes, in every measure that may be conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Wexford Journal.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lieutenant-Colonel Derenzy, for his very proper conduct in the chair this day. Signed by order,

JAMES FURLONG, Adjutant.



WEXFORD INDEPENDENTS.

At a full Meeting of the Wexford Independent Corps, on Friday the 8th of March, 1782.

RESOLVED unanimously, That as freeholders, freemen, and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved,

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive, that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we expect such declaration of right from our representatives in parliament; and that we will not support at any ensuing election, any candidate, who, when in parliament, did not, or will not use his utmost endeavour to obtain it.

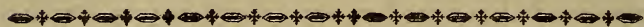
Resolved unanimously, That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

Resolved, therefore, unanimously, That we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and, that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be printed three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Wexford Journal.

Signed by order,

WILLIAM HUGHES, Adjutant.



*At a Meeting of the Lowtherstown Independent Volunteers,
the 9th of March, 1782.*

RESOLVED unanimously, That the thanks of this company be presented to William Irvine, Esq; our Colonel, and that the Chairman and Committee of this company be ordered to draw up and present the same.

Resolved, That the said address, with Colonel Irvine's answer, be published in the Freeman's Journal and Dublin Evening Post.



To WILLIAM IRVINE, Esq.

S I R,

WE, the Officers and Privates of the Lowtherstown Volunteers, under your command, beg leave to approach you with
hearts

hearts overflowing with gratitude, for the unparalleled hospitality and attention you have shewn us upon all occasions, since our first association in a military capacity. To you, Sir, we owe that steady and exact discipline for which we have been so honourably distinguished, and to your precept and example alone we owe every thing that constitute the citizen and soldier. We tender you, therefore, the greatest reward in our power to give, or in yours to receive, the thanks of men freely and firmly determined, at the risque of their lives and fortunes, to follow you to any part of the kingdom, in support of their King and the liberties of their country, against all enemies, foreign or domestic.

We beheld, with particular satisfaction, the deliberations of our brethren of this province, at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, in which you had so conspicuous and honourable a part. We perfectly approve of every part of their resolutions, as calculated to promote the interest of Ireland; and we pledge ourselves to you, and to each other, as freeholders and men of honour, to use every constitutional means to carry the same into effect.

Signed by order,
MATHEW QUIN, Chairman.



To which Address Col. Irvine returned the following Answer :

Gentlemen,

HOWEVER small my endeavours have been to merit your thanks, it has ever been my greatest ambition to deserve them. You, Gentlemen, from your first association as Volunteers, have always shewn such emulation for discipline, good order, regularity, and readiness to obey when called upon in the service of your country, that I have thought it the greatest honour of my life to be chosen your commander.

When the liberties of our country, and the freedom of our constitution are in danger, I never doubted your spirit or firmness in their defence.

At the great provincial meeting of Delegates at Dungannon, I was unanimously chosen their Chairman: I should be wanting in gratitude, did I not at this time, take the liberty of returning them my most sincere and hearty thanks; I am happy to find that our resolutions have met your concurrence, as well as the most unanimous approbation of the whole kingdom, as they must that of every constitutional Irishman in particular.

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Let us, Gentlemen, persevere, and our most gracious Sovereign will, from his goodness of heart, in spite of the pernicious councils of corrupt ministers, see and redress our grievances.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most faithful, affectionate

Castle-Irvine,
10th March, 1782.

Friend and humble servant,
WILLIAM IRVINE.



*At a Meeting of the United Corps of Kilkenny Rangers, and
Kilkenny Volunteers, on Saturday the 9th Day of March,
1782.*

Major WEMYS in the Chair.

They came to the following resolutions :

RESOLVED unanimously, That we will support the resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster corps met at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, in every constitutional measure.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Major Wemys, for his polite conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Leinster Journal.

Signed by order,

EDMUND BUTLER, Sec.



GORT LIGHT DRAGOONS.

*At a full Meeting of the Gort Light Dragoons, the 9th of
March, 1782, pursuant to Notice.*

Major JAMES GALBRAITH in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, the 15th of February last.

Resolved, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the

the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate their representation.

Resolved, That it is now very expedient, and we conceive the people of this country are called upon to declare, that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we do expect such declaration of right from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them, with our lives and fortunes, in whatever measures may be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security to our rights and liberties.

Resolved, That we will send two Delegates to the meeting at Ballinasloe, the 15th of this month, to confer with the Delegates of the other corps of this province.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post and Connaught Journal.

Signed by order,

JAMES O'FLANAGAN, Sec.



TRUE BLUE LEGION.

At a full Meeting of the True Blue Legion, held the 10th of March, 1782.

Lieut. Col. MORRISON in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon on the 15th of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several Corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to our Colonel, the right hon. the earl of Shannon, and to Captain James Dawson, Secretary to the committee of the Ulster Volunteers, by our Chairman, and that the same be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Cork news-papers.

JAMES MORRISON, Chairman.

*At a Meeting of the Wexford Independent Volunteers, on
Sunday the 10th of March, 1782.*

Mr. RICHARD WADDY, Tertius, in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of the resolutions entered into at the last meeting at Dungannon; that we are determined to be always ready to co-operate with our brother Volunteers of this kingdom, in every constitutional measure that may be found conducive to the welfare of our country.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our Chairman.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published.

RICHARD WADDY, Tertius, Chairman.



*At a Meeting of the Maguire's-bridge Volunteers, County of
Fermanagh, assembled the 11th Day of March, 1782.*

ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq; in the Chair.

AT this important crisis, when such a noble ardour pervades this kingdom, which is at once the astonishment of Europe, and a terror to its enemies; a spirit which arms the citizen in defence of all he holds sacred and dear to him, and from every rank of life breathes a determined resolution to see its just and legal rights established on a sure and permanent basis; should this country, which has at all times stood so conspicuous, remain inactive and silent when such grand designs for the general weal are on the carpet, this would derogate from that spirit which has always actuated us when the calamities of our country required it, and which we are ambitious to think still exists here.

Resolved therefore, with the unanimous consent of this corps, That we most cordially approve of the resolutions and address entered into by the Delegates of the different corps of Volunteers, convened at Dungannon on the 15th day of February last, as we consider them dictated by the spirit of moderation, profound wisdom, liberality of sentiment, and true patriotism; we perfectly coincide with them, accede to them, and are determined to support them by every constitutional

tational means, both in our private and public lines, as citizens and Volunteers.

Resolved, That our Chairman do communicate our approbation of, and accession to, said resolutions, to the Secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and inform him, that we most willingly embrace the invitation to become members of that association.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order,

GERARD IRWIN, Sec.

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*At a Meeting of the True Blue Volunteers of L. Derry, at the Town-hall, on Monday the 11th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions were agreed to :*

Captain WM. LECKY in the chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address entered into by the Volunteer Delegates assembled at Dungannon; and that, as citizens and soldiers, we will most heartily co-operate with our brother Volunteers, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in said resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people; and that a denial of this principle by them, or any of them, would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, that if any Irishman has been, or shall be, hardy enough to assert, that any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had, have, or ought to have a right to make laws to bind this realm, in any case whatsoever, every such man insults the majesty of the king of Ireland, the dignity of its parliament, and the whole body of its people; is an enemy to this kingdom, and ought to be reprobated as such by every friend of Ireland.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this company be given to Capt. Lieut. Moore, for his attendance at Dunganon as our Delegate ; and not only for supporting our sentiments in that meeting, but also for the spirited support he has at all times given the cause of the Volunteers, his indefatigable attention to this corps, and for the independent and constitutional principles which have regulated his conduct on all occasions.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this company be given to our worthy chairman, for his polite and impartial conduct in the chair.

W. LECKY, Chairman,

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*At a full Meeting of the Imokilly Horse, held at Middleton, on Monday the Eleventh of March, 1782.*

Lieutenant Colonel MCARTY in the Chair.

THE several resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers represented at Dunganon, on the 15th day of February last, having been read paragraph by paragraph,

Resolved, That we do unanimously subscribe to resolutions which promise the most happy consequences to this Kingdom, if prosecuted and persevered in with the same spirit and patriotism by which they have been dictated.

Resolved unanimously, That as it is by constitutional methods alone we hope to arrive at the degree of liberty which is the natural right of mankind, we accede, with particular satisfaction, to that resolution which is immediately levelled against the undue influence of a court, and the unequal and corrupt representation of a people.

Resolved unanimously, That with the pleasure which liberal minds must feel at every measure which is dictated by real patriotism and true religion, we particularly subscribe to that article which promises a union of interests and affections, and which we trust will effectually remove that bar, which foreign policy or private interest has placed between this kingdom and her happiness.

Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with our brother Volunteers in the most speedy, effectual, and decisive manner of obtaining a redress of grievances.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to Edward Roche, Esq; our Colonel, and to Captain Dawson.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Cork papers.

ROBERT M'CARTY, Chairman.

### CARRICKFERGUS VOLUNTEERS.

*At a full Meeting of the Carrickfergus Volunteer Company, held on the 12th of March, 1782.*

**R**ESOLVED, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address, entered into at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, by the Delegates of so many respectable corps.

Resolved, That as citizens and Volunteers, actuated by the same liberal spirit of freedom and toleration, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That these resolutions be transmitted to Capt. Dawson by the Secretary, and published in the Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order,

EDWARD CRAIG, Secretary.

*At a Meeting of the Connor Volunteers, at Connor, on the 12th of March, 1782.*

The Rev. JAMES BROWN in the Chair.

The Dungannon Resolutions having been read and considered one by one, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

**R**ESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this company, that the resolutions published by the meeting of Delegates at Dungannon, manifest such wisdom and spirit, as if universally adopted and adhered to by Irishmen, would not fail of being attended with the happiest consequences.

Resolved, That this company will therefore henceforth consider themselves as united to the Ulster association of Volunteers; and will, on every future occasion, give all assistance



ance in their power, that their virtuous designs may be crowned with success.

Resolved, That our Secretary shall transmit a copy of these resolutions to Captain James Dawson, Secretary to the Dunganannon meeting, and that they be published in the Belfast News-Letter.

Signed,

JAMES BROWN, Chairman.

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*Dublin, March 12, 1782.*

### SOCIETY of FREE CITIZENS.

Mr. WILLIAM WITHERINGTON, President.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That this society, having, since its first formation, supported, upon all occasions, the *Freedom of Election*, and the rights and privileges of their fellow-citizens; and having publicly declared their intention of asserting the right of nomination of the aggregate assembly of citizens, who called upon Travers Hartley, Esq; as a proper person to represent them in parliament, and in opposition to one, who, under an assumed appearance of freedom and real independence, was notoriously supported by the influence of administration. We cannot but consider those members who voted for the latter, as deviating from those principles, which first actuated the society of Free Citizens; and of course incurring the censure of our third rule, which declares, that, "any member acting inconsistent with the patriotic principles upon which this society is founded—such person shall be expelled."

Resolved therefore unanimously, That the names of those who voted for Alderman Warren on the late election (as now returned by a committee appointed for the purpose) be erased from our books, as persons who have subscribed to principles, which, experience has convinced us, they neither support nor possess.

CLANRICARDE CAVALRY.

*At a Meeting of the Clanricarde Cavalry, at Loughrea, the  
12th Day of March, 1782.*

Col. PETER DALY in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we do expect such declaration of right from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them with our lives and fortunes in whatever measure be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the good intentions of parliament towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Signed by order,

CHARLES KELLY, Sec.



ROBERT FRENCH, Esq; in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That Anthony Daly, Esq; be chosen an honorary member of this corps, in testimony of our personal esteem for him, and as a grateful mark of our approbation of his uniform and disinterested conduct in parliament, which for fourteen years has been wholly directed by the true interests and welfare of his country.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to our worthy Chairman, Col. Peter Daly, for his upright conduct in the chair, and his great attention to the discipline and welfare of this corps.

Signed by order,

CHARLES KELLY, Sec.

# KILKENNY HORSE,

*At a Meeting of the Kilkenny Horse, this 12th Day of March, 1782.*

Colonel CUFFE in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we are ready to co-operate with the several corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of supporting and obtaining the rights of our country.

Resolved unanimously, That the above resolution be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal.

Signed by order,

HENRY M'REARY, Sec.



# COUNTY of WICKLOW.

*We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury, of the County of Wicklow, at a General Assizes held at Wicklow, in and for said County, on Tuesday the 12th Day of March, 1782.*

Hon. JOHN STRATFORD in the Chair.

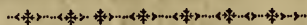
**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we will support the king and constitution of Ireland with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved unanimously, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only constitutional power competent to bind this kingdom.

Resolved (with three dissentient voices) That we approve of the spirit, moderation, and liberality of sentiment, which appeared in the resolutions entered into at the Dungannon meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That we are determined to support our representatives in every constitutional measure which may tend to advance the freedom and interest of Ireland.

Signed, JOHN STRATFORD and Co.



Colonel WESTBY in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of the parliamentary conduct of our representatives, and have hitherto

thereto thought unnecessary to exert the undoubted discretionary power of constituents to instruct, relying on their integrity and steady perseverance in the unexceptionable line of conduct they have pursued.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published.

Signed, NICHOLAS WESTBY.

HOPTON SCOTT, Esq; High Sheriff.

GRAND JURORS,

|                              |                      |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Hon. John Stratford, Foreman | Francis Hutchinson   |
| Hon. Benj. Ow. Stratford     | William Fairbrother  |
| Samuel Hayes                 | John Usher           |
| Sir James Tynte, Bart.       | William Parsons Hoey |
| Nicholas Westby              | Charles Coates       |
| James Carroll                | George Heighenton    |
| Morley Saunders              | William Holt         |
| Thomas Aston                 | James Critchly       |
| Charles Tottenham            | William Ayres        |
| William Hume                 | Pat. Ryan            |
| John Smyth                   | Samuel Faulkener.    |
| Laurenzo Nixon               |                      |



*To the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Wicklow.*

*Gentlemen,*

I AM exceedingly obliged and thankful to you for the very honourable testimony of your approbation of me, as one of your representatives, signified in your resolutions the 12th instant, at Easter assizes, when the county at large were assembled. Such approbation must ever add to my endeavours to deserve it; and I feel myself the more affected by it, as being sent free into parliament, without any test or instructions. A mark of your good opinion and confidence, I am happy in this proof of my having merited. Be assured, I shall never quit that line of conduct you have thus sanctified; and as I shall, after the recess, faithfully express your sense in parliament, so let me entreat, on all momentous and national points, your instructions and advice. Permit me to beg, through your favourable indulgence, that any unintentional omissions of a private nature, may be atoned for by my strict attention to your public concerns, which shall ever be equally near my heart as my own.

I thank



I thank you most cordially for an approbation that encourages me to hope for your future favour and confidence, when this trial of me shall have an end, in the determination of this present parliament; by my past, you will judge of my future study to deserve it.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect

Gratitude, respect and esteem,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged and faithful humble servant,

JOHN STRATFORD.



## C O U N T Y of C A V A N.

*At a Meeting at large of the County of Cavan, convened at the requisition of the High Sheriff, at Cavan, on Wednesday, March the 13th, 1782, the following Declaration was unanimously agreed to:*

**W**HEN national claims are mutually acknowledged, explanation is needless; when they necessarily subvert the security of either nation, it is fruitless—but, when nations stand bound to each other by every tie of interest and principle of constitution; when the just rights of each strengthen the security of both, explanation then becomes the bond of indissoluble union. Upon this principle, the county of Cavan, assembled in its most collective capacity, at this interesting moment of our existence as a free country, feels itself called upon to give this solemn testimony to the respective rights of Great Britain and Ireland.

We declare, That we will pay obedience to those laws *only*, which are made by our *own* legislature, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, as the very terms of our original compact with Great Britain are, *that we shall possess and exercise the full enjoyment of the British constitution.* As external greatness and constitutional extension were the objects of Great Britain in that compact; as external security and constitutional liberty were the objects of Ireland, whatever leads to separation on the part of the latter, or infringement on the part of the former, is a violation to both.

Upon this principle, we claim, that Great Britain will, in course, repeal, or explain every statute that militates against the liberties of this kingdom; that our legislature will,

will, in course, adopt and legalize every British statute necessary to preserve the proper intercourse between the two nations. But whilst we claim for Ireland every benefit of the British constitution, we should render ourselves betrayers of that trust, if we were not vigilant to prevent and remedy every abuse of Irish legislation.

Justice, therefore, as well as self-defence, dictate a repeal or explanation of the law, commonly called Poyning's Law, and the explanatory one of the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, which we consider as an unconstitutional sacrifice of the rights and liberties of the people, either in its first origin, or subsequent misconstruction, which were not in the power of a parliament to give away, and also a constitutional modification of the Mutiny Bill.

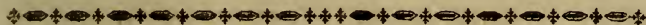
As we feel ourselves, equally with Great Britain, bound by every treaty of the King, we feel ourselves, equally with Great Britain, entitled to every benefit deriving from them; we, therefore, claim as free and equal advantages of trade and commerce with every nation as Great Britain herself enjoys, and we pledge ourselves to our country and to each other, to exert every constitutional mean to support this our solemn declaration.

Resolved, That the above be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, the Freeman's and Faulkner's Journals, and the Ulster Journal.

Signed by order,

GEORGE MONTGOMERY, Chairman.

March 12, 1782.



Market-House, Newton-Ards, March 13, 1782.

*At a Meeting of upwards of three Hundred of the Inhabitants and Freeholders of the Town and Parish of Newtown-Ards, to take into Consideration the Resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers lately met at Dungannon; and the same being read Paragraph by Paragraph:*

JAMES BRUCE, Esq; in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we find ourselves happy in joining in the applauses, admiration, and gratitude, which so generally prevail over the whole kingdom, and are so justly due

due to a body of men, whose resolutions have exceeded our most sanguine expectations: they are founded in a perfect knowledge of our constitutional rights, and the breaches that from time to time have been made in them; and are framed with so much wisdom, temper and moderation, but, at the same time, with that determined and persevering spirit and firmness, arising from a thorough conviction of the justness of our claims, as must naturally and irresistibly engage every friend to his country in a concurrence with their measures. This operation has already taken place, and is daily encreasing with a rapid pace; so that we have all reason to believe, that this bond of union will prove lasting, and that the voice of the people will at length prevail.

Resolved unanimously, That our warmest thanks be, and are hereby given to that most respectable body of our neighbours and fellow citizens of Belfast, met for a similar purpose the 7th instant, for their manly, spirited, and sensible resolutions (which were also read and acceded to with the greatest pleasure); and to shew our respect for, and attention to every advice and recommendation coming from them, we beg to be admitted into their association, in order to assist in fulfilling every particular declaration in which we so heartily concur. And we do hereby pledge ourselves to our country, to them, and to one another, as freeholders and fellow-citizens, to co-operate with them in every constitutional measure, which may be deemed most effectual for carrying the said resolutions into execution. And we do most earnestly entreat and recommend to all the inhabitants in our neighbourhood to meet together in their several towns, or parishes, in order to form similar associations, and render themselves more respectable by their union. The body of the people is the most essential part of the community, from it are derived the support and strength of the whole; and in every struggle the last appeal must be brought before this great body. How necessary therefore is it, for every individual to know his own rights and those of his country, in order that he may be able to take a decided and conscientious part in endeavouring to transmit them unimpaired to the latest posterity.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be published six times in the Belfast News-Letter and Dublin Evening Post.  
JAMES BRUCE, Chairman.

## ENNIS VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Ennis Volunteers, held the 13th Day of March, 1782, pursuant to Notice.*

Lieut. Col. WILLIAM BLOOD in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly and heartily approve of the several resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as Volunteers, and men firmly and zealously attached to the constitutional rights and commercial interest of this kingdom, we will exert every effort to co-operate in obtaining satisfactory and compleat redress of the grievances complained of in said resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That our most perfect and grateful acknowledgments are due to those wise and virtuous men who so strenuously demanded, and so steadily fought a constitutional declaration of the rights of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That to postpone or evade such a declaration, is in effect to deny the right, and that to deny the right, is basely to betray it.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart. and Edward Fitzgerald, Esq; our representatives in parliament, for their steady and upright conduct.

Resolved unanimously, That a meeting of Delegates from the Volunteer corps of the county of Clare, be requested at Ennis, on the 7th day of April next.

WILLIAM BLOOD. Chairman.

Colonel Blood having left the chair, it was resolved unanimously; That the thanks of this meeting be returned to him, for his upright and impartial conduct therein, and for his constant and unwearied attention to the corps.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Clare and Munster Journals.

Signed by order,  
DAVID ENGLAND, Captain and  
Secretary.

ROYAL



## ROYAL TRALEE VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Royal Tralee Volunteers, held on the 13th  
Day of March, 1782.*

GEORGE GUN, Major, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

**R**ESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the resolutions entered into by the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, the 15th day of February last.

Resolved, That as the assertion of our rights was one of the great purposes for which we at first associated, we feel ourselves called upon by that liberal spirit of our original institution, and by every idea of consistency, to co-operate with them as citizens and Volunteers, in every constitutional measure which may be thought conducive to a redress of the grievances with which our country is oppressed.

Resolved, That as friends to humanity, to civil and to religious liberty, we do earnestly wish the bill for the relief of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, now depending, may meet with the concurrence of the several branches of the legislature, confiding so far in the wisdom and foresight of parliament, as to be under no apprehensions, lest the bill should contain any clause, which may eventually prove detrimental to the state, or to the established religion.

Resolved, That the thanks of the corps be presented to Major Gun, for his readiness in convening this meeting, and for the propriety of his conduct in the chair.

Ordered, That these our resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Kerry Journal, and that they be transmitted by the Chairman to Captain Dawson.

GEORGE GUN, jun. Chairman.

LONDON.

## LONDON-DERRY REGIMENT.

*At a Meeting of the London-derry Regiment, held in the City-hall the 14th Day of March, 1782.*

Colonel FERGUSON in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the Volunteer Delegates, assembled at Dungannon the 15th day of February last, have asserted the just rights, and declared the real grievances, of this kingdom, in temperate and constitutional language.

Resolved unanimously, That it is our decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of those grievances in every constitutional method; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freemen, freeholders, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only whom we think best calculated to maintain the true dignity and interests of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously; That the members of the House of Commons are the only representatives of, and derive their authority solely from, the people; and, that their conduct ought to be conformable to the opinions of their constituents.

Resolved unanimously, That any conduct, therefore, in this branch of the legislature contradictory of the known sense of their constituents, legally convened, is a breach of trust, and subversive of a fundamental principle of our constitution.

Resolved unanimously, That this is the proper time to seek for redress of our grievances.

Resolved unanimously, That our thanks be, and they are hereby given to the Delegates of this regiment, for their proper conduct at the provincial meeting in Dungannon the 15th of February last.

JOHN FERGUSON, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the regiment be given to our worthy Colonel, for his laudable conduct in summoning the regiment on this occasion, and for his proper and impartial behaviour this day in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and London-Derry Journal.

WILLIAM PATTERSON, Sec.

## GOLDSMITHS CORPS,

Commanded by the Right Hon. the Earl of CHARLEMONT,

*Associated in Defence of this Kingdom, and its natural Rights,  
have unanimously agreed to the following Resolutions :*

**R**ESOLVED, That we will not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any parliament, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every capacity, support them with our lives and fortunes, in asserting our rights against any pretended authority of the British parliament.

Signed by order,

J. HARDY, Sec.



*At a Meeting of the Commanders and Deputies of Twenty-five  
Volunteer Corps, held at Downpatrick, March 15, 1782.*

Right Hon. Lord GLERAWLY in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED, That in order to accommodate the Volunteers in general, there shall be three reviews in the county of Down this year, viz. at Newtown-Ards, on Tuesday the 2d day of July next; at Banbridge, on Wednesday the 10th; and at Downpatrick, on Thursday the 18th of same month.

Resolved, That Lord Glerawly be appointed reviewing general, and the hon. Col. Ward, exercising officer.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be a committee appointed for conducting the review :

|                 |                 |                  |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Capt. Ford,     | Capt. Hamilton, | Capt. Aynsworth, |
| Capt. N. Price, | Col. Knox,      | Capt. Trotter,   |
| Col. Ward,      | Capt. West,     | Capt. Blackwood. |

Any five to be a quorum.

Committee to meet at Downe, on Easter Tuesday next, at ten o'clock in the morning.

Resolved, nem. con. That the strength of the Volunteers depends on their being unanimous, and that the moderate proceedings at Dungannon, tend to promote union, and meet with our approbation.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and the Belfast News-Letter.

C O N-

## CONNAUGHT VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Delegates from Fifty-nine Volunteer Corps of the Province of Connaught, at Ballinasloe, on Friday the 15th of March, 1782.*

The Earl of CLANRICARDE in the Chair.

The following resolutions were entered into unanimously :

**R**ESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers represented at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, as they breathe the genuine spirit of liberty, loyalty, and toleration, and that we will co-operate with them, and all other corps who accede to their resolutions, with our lives and fortunes, in obtaining our just and hereditary rights.

Resolved, That we shall consider any member of parliament who shall oppose the voice of the nation, with respect to the grievances complained of in those resolutions, as betraying the trust reposed in him by the people, abdicating his representation, and deserving every stigma that can be inflicted on him by his country.

Resolved, That in the present critical situation of this country, when unlimited corruption is become the settled system of the Minister, it is necessary that the people should interpose, to direct the conduct of their representatives, who, deriving their power *solely* from them, have no right to disobey their instructions; as it would be absurd to call men representatives, who act diametrically opposite to the sentiments of those whom they are sent to represent.

Resolved, That the virtue of the people is a most effectual check to the venality of the representatives; and that if counties and independent towns will send men notoriously under the influence of government into parliament, it is absurd in them to complain of that corrupt conduct, which experience might have taught them to expect, and of which they are themselves the accomplices.

Resolved, That no man ought to be elected to serve in parliament, who will not previous to his election, pledge himself to exert his utmost endeavours to obtain a redress of the national grievances, and to obey the instructions of his constituents.

Resolved,



Resolved, That the idea that private friendship and private obligations, are a tie with regard to mens votes for members of parliament, is founded in false notions of honour, and fraught with the most dangerous consequences to national virtue, as it is paying a private debt at the public expence; and fulfilling a duty to an individual, by a sacriligious violation of that which we owe to the community.

Resolved, That it may be recommended to Grand Juries to enter into such regulations as will facilitate the calling of county meetings, to examine into and direct the conduct of their representatives.

Resolved, That no power on earth has a right to make laws to bind this kingdom, except the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and that we will resist, with our lives and fortunes, the execution of any other laws; as we consider to be governed by a foreign legislature, over which we have no controul—*absolute slavery.*

Resolved, That we expect a declaration of our national rights from our legislature.

Whereas it has been suggested to us, that the proceedings of the Irish nation at this time has been represented in England, as arising from a wish in the people of this country to shake off all connection with Great Britain;

Resolved, That we are perfectly convinced there is not a man in this kingdom, who entertains a wish so ruinous to the prosperity of both nations; on the contrary, we declare for ourselves, and we have the fullest conviction, of its being the universal sentiment of the people of Ireland, that the present measures are intended to remove every object of jealousy, that we may clasp our sister nation to our bosom, and cement an indissoluble union between us, attached to her by every connection, by every tie of interest and affection that cements nations; surrounded as she is by an host of enemies, *we are resolved to share her liberty and share her fate.*

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly be given to the Delegates who met at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, for their having so spiritedly stepped forward in the cause of their country, and that our Secretary do send a copy of these resolutions to Captain James Dawson, their Secretary.

Resolved, That four members from each of the four counties represented at this meeting (seven to be a quorum) be, and are hereby appointed a committee, until the next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps here represented, and  
as

as occasion shall require, to call a general meeting of the province.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen are appointed as said committee, viz.

County of G A L W A Y.

Colonel Walter Lawrence, Major John Kelly,  
Colonel William Perffe, Counsellor John Geoghegan,

County of M A Y O.

Colonel Sir H. Lynch Blossfe, Colonel Dominick G. Browne,  
Bart. Colonel Edmond Jordan.  
Colonel Sir Neal O'Donel. Bart.

County of S L I G O.

Colonel Charles O'Hara, Colonel Lewis Francis Irwin.  
Colonel Sir Booth Gore, Bt. Lieut. Col. John Ormsby.

County of R O S C O M M O N.

Colonel Denis Kelly, Colonel John Caulfield,  
Colonel Robert Waller, Major Henry French.

Resolved, That said committee do appoint eight of their members to be a committee in Dublin (any three of whom may act in the absence of the rest) in order to communicate with the Ulster committee, and the Delegates of such other corps, as may think proper to come into similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional, speedy, and effectual means of carrying them into execution.

In consequence of the above resolution, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen, viz.

Colonel William Perffe, Colonel Lewis Francis Irwin,  
Counsellor John Geoghegan, Colonel Charles O'Hara,  
Colonel Sir H. Lynch, Blossfe, Colonel John Caulfield,  
Bart. Colonel Robert Waller.  
Colonel Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart.

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly be presented to the right honourable the Earl of Clanricarde, for his zeal in support of the rights of his country on every occasion, and particularly for his conduct on the present.

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly be returned to Counsellor Geoghegan, for the well-informed arguments made use of by him, and for his assistance in forming these resolutions.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly be returned to Ensign James Joyce, for his conduct as Secretary at this meeting.

It being apprehended that sufficient accommodation cannot be found in a central town, to accommodate the numbers of one provincial review;

Resolved, That there be two reviews, one Northern and the other Southern, in this province, the ensuing summer, the times and places to be hereafter fixed.

Resolved, That the Earl of Clanricarde is hereby appointed reviewing general.

Resolved, That these resolutions be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post, Hebernian Journal, Connaught Journal, and Connaught Advertiser.

Signed by order,  
JAMES JOYCE, Secretary.



*At a full Meeting of the Dunmore Volunteers on Parade, on Friday the 15th Day of March, 1782.*

**R**ESOLVED, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address entered into, and published by the meeting of Delegates from the Volunteers of Ulster, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved, That our Secretary do communicate our approbation and accession to the said resolutions, to the Secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and inform him that we most willingly embrace the invitation to become members of the association.



## C O U N T Y of L E I T R I M.

*At a Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Leitrim, at Carrick-on-Shannon, convened by the High Sheriff of said County, on Saturday the 16th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:*

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved,

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that the people of this country are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions, and address of the Ulster Volunteers represented at Dungannon the 15th day of February last, and are happy to declare our concurrence with them in all their sentiments upon civil, religious, and commercial freedom; and that we will co-operate with them in all constitutional modes to obtain a redress of all the grievances they complain of.

Resolved unanimously, That the said Volunteers are entitled to our warmest thanks, which we request they may accept as a tribute justly due to their wisdom, temper, and firmness, on that important occasion.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the High Sheriff, for his readiness in calling this meeting, and for the propriety of his conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed six times in the Dublin Evening Post and Dublin Journal.

|                |                  |                      |
|----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Morgan Crofton | Rob. Johnstone   | John Acheson         |
| Peter Latouche | Thomas Hume      | John Carter          |
| Wm. Gore       | Geo. Reynolds    | Francis McClure      |
| H. Nisbit      | R. Boyd          | John Hamilton        |
| L. Lawder      | John Johnston    | John Armstrong       |
| James Johnston | Sim. Armstrong   | Geo. Crawford        |
| R. Cunningham  | Wm. Lloyd        | Wm. Crawford         |
| Thomas Dixon   | Geo. Percy       | Geo. Wilson          |
| Patt. Carter   | Wm. Shanley      | Rob. Hamilton        |
| Rich. Irwin    | B. Cunningham    | Rob. Hamilton, junr. |
| J. Armstrong   | A. Cunningham    | Wm. Hamilton         |
| John Cullen    | James Murphy     | C. Atkinson          |
| John Gore      | Tho. Conolly     | J. Morrison          |
| And. Johnston  | Char. Waldron    | W. Whittaker         |
| Harry Seeley   | Fran. Waldron    | J. Johnston          |
| John Faris     | Tho. Waldron     | Wm. Keany            |
| John Peyton    | Fran. Waldron    | Wm. Wallace          |
| John Carleton  | Roger Dodd       | James Wallace        |
| John Crofton   | Rich. Simpson    | Johnst. Wallace      |
| Joseph Moreton | William Lee      | Wm. Logheed          |
| Duke Crofton   | Wm. Armstrong    | John Williamson      |
| William Slack  | Allen Rutherford | Anth. Civil          |
| Walter Peyton  | Ad. Rutherford   | John Buckard         |

Randall





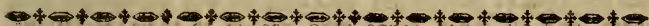
entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon, the 15th of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That we will most cheerfully co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances complained of in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That we reprobate with detestation and contempt, the presumptuous assertion, that *power confers right*, as repugnant to every idea of truth and justice.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of these our resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates, and that they be published in the Dublin and Cork Evening Posts.

BOYLE ALDWORTH, Col.



*At the Anniversary Meeting of the Cork Cavalry, on the 17th of March, 1782.*

Col. CHETWYND in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the resolutions of the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th day of February last, have our warmest approbation, as they are founded on the most spirited and manly attachment to the welfare and honour of Ireland, and as they express those benevolent sentiments of toleration, which must effectually secure unanimity and mutual affection amongst her subjects.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, and steadfast friends to our country's interest, we pledge ourselves to make use of every constitutional means in our power, to obtain a redress of those grievances which they so judiciously point out.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be immediately transmitted to captain Dawson, secretary to the Ulster Delegates, at Union-Lodge, Lough-brickland, and published in the Cork newspapers, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,  
JOHN SMITH, Secretary.

*At a general Meeting of the Delegates of all the Volunteer Corps of the County of Carlow, convened by public Advertisement, the 17th Day of March, 1782.*

Lieut. Col. Sir CHARLES BURTON, Bart. in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we do warmly approve of, and most cordially adopt in every respect, as breathing the true spirit of liberty and patriotism, the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, the 15th of February last; as also the resolutions of the Connaught Delegates, representing their Volunteers at Ballinasloe the 15th of March inst. and that we will co-operate with them, and all other corps who accede to their resolutions, with our lives and properties, in obtaining the just and natural rights of Irishmen.

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly be given to the Delegates who met at Dungannon the 15th day of February last, for their having so spiritedly stepped forward in the cause of their country, and that our Secretary do send a copy of these resolutions to Capt. Dawson, their Secretary.

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly be given to the Delegates who met at Ballinasloe, the 15th day of March inst. for their just and constitutional resolutions, and that our Secretary do send a copy of these resolutions to Ensign James Joyce, their Secretary.

Resolved, That although it is almost impossible, at the present period, that any representative of an independent people should mistake the sentiments of his constituents, yet, we think it absolutely necessary thus publicly to declare, that we never will support at a future election, in this or any county, the candidate who shall in the smallest degree oppose the universal sense of the nation.

Beauchamp Bagnal, Esq; William Burton, Esq; Sir Charles Burton, Bart. John Rochfort, Esq; and William Doyle, Esq; are appointed a committee of correspondence with the Delegates of the other Volunteer corps.

CHARLES BURTON, Chairman.

Sir Charles Burton having left the chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to our worthy Chairman, for his attentive and proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,  
ROBERT EUSTACE, jun. Secretary  
to county Carlow Delegates.

COUNTY KILDARE.  
ATHY VOLUNTEERS.

*At a full Meeting of the Athy Volunteers, March 17, 1782.*

Captain DAKER in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

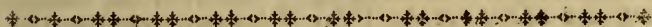
**R**ESOLVED, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, are competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the resolutions of the Dungannon Delegates, and that we will co-operate with our fellow Volunteers in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the grievances complained of in them.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to Capt. Daker, for his upright conduct in the chair.

Resolved, The thanks of this corps to our Secretary.

Resolved, That these resolutions be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal. Signed by order,  
THOMAS HAYES, Sec.



QUEEN'S COUNTY.

CULLENAGH RANGERS.

*At a Meeting of the Cullenagh Rangers, at Ballyroan, on the 17th of March, 1782.*

Colonel BARRINGTON in the Chair.

**I**T was unanimously resolved, That considering ourselves as citizens, armed in defence of the laws and constitution of our country, and disclaiming every jurisdiction, but that of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, we are firmly determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support every measure which may tend towards a preservation of that independence, and that we will, in every capacity, oppose the execution of such statutes as the usurped authority of a British



tish parliament have hitherto enacted, or may hereafter attempt to impose on a country resolved to be *Free*.

Resolved unanimously, That we do approve of the resolutions entered into by the Dungannon association, as being the surest step towards a total abolition of those ill-advised measures, which it was as impolitic in Britain to adopt, as it would be pusillanimous in us to acquiesce in.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be inclosed to the Secretary of the Dungannon association.

Signed by order,

GEO. REILY, Sec.



### KILCULLEN RANGERS.

*At a full Meeting of the Kilcullen Rangers (assembled by public Notice) on the 17th of March, 1782.*

Captain CARTER in the Chair.

They came to the following resolutions :

**R**ESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That the above be published in the Dublin Evening Post three times.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our Chairman for his upright conduct in the chair, and his constant attention to the corps.

Signed by order of the Chairman,

C. CROFTON, Adjutant.

## GALWAY VOLUNTEERS.

*At a general Meeting of the Galway Volunteers, held at the Tholsel, in Galway, the 17th of March, 1782.*

Major JOHN BLAKE in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That it is of the greatest importance (and particularly at this time) that the command of Volunteer corps be entrusted to none but men invariably attached to the rights of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That Colonel Richard Martin, by supporting an administration which we consider inimical to the rights of Ireland, has deviated from that line of conduct which induced us to give him the command of this corps.

Resolved unanimously, That Richard Martin, Esq; be no longer Colonel of this corps.

Resolved unanimously, That this corps will, on Sunday the 31st inst. at two o'clock in the afternoon, proceed to the election of a Colonel, in the room of Richard Martin, Esq; late Colonel.

Resolved unanimously, That any person who has invariably supported the rights and independence of Ireland in parliament, is qualified to be elected Colonel of this corps, though at present he is not a member thereof.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be signed by our Adjutant, and inserted in the Dublin and Galway Evening Posts, and Connaught Journal.

Signed by order,

J. LYNCH, Adjutant.

## CLANWILLIAM UNION.

*At a Meeting of the Clanwilliam Union Light Dragoons, at Golden, in the County of Tipperary, the 17th Day of March, 1782.*

Captain ALLEYN in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

**R**ESOLVED, That we highly approve of the resolutions entered into at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and

and are happy in declaring our warmest concurrence with the spirited and constitutional sentiments contained therein.

That we will co-operate with our Volunteer brethren in every constitutional means, to obtain a speedy and effectual redress of the several grievances so justly complained of, and think that a thorough communication between the Volunteer corps of this kingdom the most conducive to that great end.

That we do appoint our worthy Colonel, the Earl of Clanwilliam, to be our Delegate in Dublin, in order to communicate with the Ulster, and such other Volunteer associations, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying these our resolutions into full effect.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be communicated by our Colonel, to Captain Dawson of the Ulster Delegates, in Dublin.

Ordered, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Clonmel Gazette.

Signed by order,  
THOMAS RYAN, Secretary.



## CARLOW ASSOCIATION.

*At a Meeting of the Carlow Association, at the County Court-house, at Carlow, on Sunday the 17th of March, 1782.*

Sir CHARLES BURTON, Bart. in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED, That the late resolutions and address of the Delegates from the Ulster associations, entered into at Dunganon, on Friday the 15th of February last, appear to us to be truly spirited and patriotic, and that we do highly approve thereof.

Resolved, That a meeting of Delegates from all the Volunteer corps in the county of Carlow be, and is hereby requested on Sunday the 31st day of March, inst. at ten o'clock in the morning, at the county Court-house, at Carlow, in order to take the said resolutions into consideration, and to speak the sentiments of their several corps in such resolutions as their wishes, and the exigency of public affairs require.

CHARLES BURTON, Chairman.

The

The Chairman having quitted the chair, it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Charles Burton, Bart. for his spirited and upright conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,  
PHILIP WATTERS, Sec.

At a full Meeting of the Duhallow Rangers, held at Lohort Castle, on the 18th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Lieut. Col. WRIXON in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED, That as Irishmen, friends to liberty and moderation, we will earnestly pursue such measures as may prove effectual in procuring and preserving our civil and constitutional rights; and as we approve of the resolutions of the Dungannon corps, we will co-operate with them in every mode which can or may conduce to the removal of our present grievances, or any other that should in future affect us.

Resolved, That we do fully adopt the idea of reprobating, with detestation and contempt, the presumptuous assertion, that *power confers right*, as repugnant to every sentiment of truth and justice.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to our colonel, the honourable Charles George Percival, now in London, and to captain Dawson, secretary to the Ulster Volunteers; and also, that they be inserted in the Dublin and Cork Newspapers.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Duhallow Rangers be presented to our worthy lieutenant colonel, William Rixon, for his propriety of conduct on this, and every other occasion.

WILLIAM DORE, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Muskerry True Blue Light Dragoons, the Blarney Volunteers, the Muskerry Volunteers, the Muskerry True Blue infantry, and the Inchegeela Volunteers, held in Macromp, on Monday the 18th Day of March, 1782.

Col. ROBERT WARREN, of the Muskerry Light Dragoons, in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we fully approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon on the 15th of February last.

Resolved



Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with our brother Volunteers in the most speedy, effectual, and constitutional means of obtaining a full redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That we will on all future elections, support with our votes and interest those only, who we shall be convinced will be attentive to the instructions of their constituents, and will not be biased by place, pension, or honours, from using their utmost endeavours in parliament for the obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in the resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers.

Resolved unanimously, That a Meeting in the city of Cork, of Delegates from the different Volunteer corps of the county and city of Cork, is highly expedient, and would tend to form the most perfect union, and thereby more speedily and effectually obtain the desired redress of grievances.

Resolved, That the secretary do transmit a copy of these our resolutions to the secretary of the Ulster Volunteers, and that the same be printed in the Dublin Evening Post and Cork News-papers.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to colonel Warren, for his particular propriety of conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,  
JAMES DALTERA,  
Sec. M. T. B. L. D.

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## COUNTY WATERFORD MEETING.

*At a numerous Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Waterford, assembled at Dungarvan, on Monday the 18th of March, 1782, pursuant to Notice given by the High Sheriff for that purpose.*

ROBERT UNIACKE, Esq; High Sheriff, in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

**R**ESOLVED, that we will not vote for any man to represent us in parliament for any county, city or borough, who declares, or in actions supports, that the members of the House of Commons are not the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we will support the representatives of the people with our lives and fortunes, in whatever measures may be necessary to render the above declarations effectual.

Resolved, That the High Sheriff be requested to have the above resolutions inserted in the public papers.

ROBERT UNIACKE, High Sheriff.



WHEREAS at a meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Waterford, regularly convened by the High Sheriff at Dungarvan, the 18th of March, 1782, for the avowed purpose of instructing their representatives in parliament, the question of adjournment was proposed and carried before any instructions were deliberated on, or even permitted to be read, and though instructions were offered to their consideration.

Now, We, the undernamed freeholders of the said county, do enter this our protest against such irregular and inconsistent proceedings, as unconstitutional, and as tending to prevent the sense of the freeholders from being fairly collected.

|                 |                      |                   |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Chris. Musgrave | B. O'Meagher         | Wm. Newport       |
| John Congreve   | Andrew English, jun. | Wm. Morris        |
| John Usher      | William Lace         | Richard Keily     |
| Rich. Power     | John Newport         | R. Musgrave       |
| John Odell      | John Power           | James Towell      |
| Rich. Musgrave  | Wm. Morrissey        | John Bryan        |
| Rich. Keily     | Ed. Baron Shanna-    | Nat. Wigmore      |
| Robert Cooke    | han                  | Richard Lee       |
| John Musgrave   | Jos. Strangman       | Francis Drew      |
| A. English      | Geo. Hely            | John Keily        |
| H. W. Dobbyn    | Henry Smyth          | Sam. Penrose      |
| Rich. Ryland    | H. Smyth jun.        | Wm. Penrose, sen. |
| Robert Snow     | Rob. Smyth, jun.     | R. Shap. Carew    |
| Simon Newport   | Tho. Kelly           | Benj. Morris      |
|                 |                      | W. Morris, jun.   |



## COUNTY FERMANAGH GRAND JURY.

WE the Grand Jury of the county of Fermanagh, being constitutionally assembled at this present assizes, held for the

K

county

county of Fermanagh, at Enniskillen, this 18th day of March, 1782,

Think ourselves called upon at this interesting moment, to make our solemn declarations relative to the rights and liberties of Ireland.

We pledge ourselves to this our country, that we never will pay obedience to any law made, or to be made to bind Ireland, except those laws which are, and shall be made by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

2dly. We claim as free and equal advantages of trade and commerce with every nation as Great Britain herself enjoys.

3dly. We declare against that law commonly called Poyning's law, as it is generally understood, and that at least it requires a full explanation, that such part which may appear to militate against the liberties of Ireland may be lopped off.

4thly. We declare the mutiny bill, as it now stands, to be an unconstitutional law, and that as it is dangerous to the liberties of the people, it requires a modification.

And we pledge ourselves to our country and to each other, to exert every constitutional means to support those our solemn declarations.

Signed by order,  
ARTHUR COLE HAMILTON, Esq;  
Foreman.



## CHARLEVILLE VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Charleville Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Chidley Cootè, held the 18th Day of March, 1782, for the purpose of taking into Consideration the Resolutions and Address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th Day of February last.*

Major St. GEORGE HATFIELD in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were agreed to:

**RESOLVED** (with one dissenting voice) That the said resolutions and address are entitled to, and do meet our warmest approbation, as they are dictated with temper and moderation, and animated with a spirit becoming men determined to be free.

Resolved,

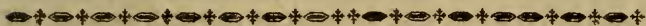
Resolved, That we will, to the the utmost of our power, cheerfully co-operate with our brethren Volunteers, in every constitutional mode of restoring and asserting the rights of our country, and of establishing them on so sure a basis, as may secure them to latest posterity.

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and to have them published in the Dublin and Cork Evening Posts.

ST. GEORGE HATFIELD, Chairman.

The chairman having left the chair, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to major Hatfield, for his polite and proper conduct in the chair.

G. HOOPER, Secretary.



# RAMELTON VOLUNTEERS.

*At a full Meeting, March 18, 1782.*

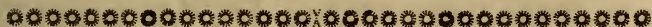
JAMES WATT, Capt. Lieut. in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we heartily, and entirely approve of the resolutions entered into at Dungannon, of the meeting at which place we wish to become members, and hereby testify our greatest readiness, to co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the several grievances there complained of.

Also, That a copy of these our sentiments be transmitted to capt. Dawson, and published in the L. Derry and Strabane Journals.

By order,

ALEX. NESBITT, Sec.



*At a Meeting of the Independent and Patriotic Electors of the County of Leitrim, convened by their Chairman, John Peyton, Esq; at Carrick-on-Shannon, on Monday the 18th March, 1782, pursuant to Advertisement, the following Resolutions (in Addition to those entered into by the High Sheriff and Freeholders of said County, on Saturday last) were unanimously agreed to :*

**R**ESOLVED, That as it is the undoubted right of free and independent electors to instruct their representatives, so it is the



the duty of representatives faithfully to speak the sense of the people in parliament.

Resolved, That we (hereby pledging ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, and men of honour) will at every ensuing election, support those, and *only* those, who have supported, and who from their past conduct, may be expected to support every constitutional mode of asserting the rights of this country, and securing and transmitting them to posterity.

Resolved, That we will, at our own expence, employ a clerk to take down the poll at the ensuing general election for this county, whose business it shall be to enter the names and additions of the *Sons of Liberty* in a red list, and those of *venality* in a black list; printed copies of which, shall be given to the supporters of independence, that future ages may honour and revere the one, as much as they shall execrate and abhor the other.

Resolved, That as several gentlemen of the first consequence and interest in this county have, from peculiar circumstances and situation, excused themselves from signing our resolutions of the 4th of October last, but at the same time declared their approbation of them, and intention of supporting them with their utmost strength on the day of trial: we think it necessary to pronounce that such assurances have the validity of signatures to the said resolutions of the 4th of October last, and are hereby accepted as such by us.

Resolved, That the patriotic and steady conduct of our worthy Chairman on all occasions, is conformable to our high opinion of his merit, and entitle him to our best thanks and esteem.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed,

JOHN PEYTON, Chairman,  
Leitrim Independent Committee.

PARISH

## PARISH of DRUMBEG.

*At a numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Drumbeg, convened by public Advertisment, held at Drum Church, on Monday, March 18, 1782.*

WILLIAM STEWART, Esq; in the Chair.

The resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, entered into at Dunganon, on the 15th past, and their address to the minority in both Houses of Parliament, being read and deliberated on,

**RESOLVED** unanimously, That our sentiments perfectly coincide with said resolutions and address: that we highly approve of, and cordially accede to them: that we adopt, and declare them as our own; and, in the most solemn manner, engage to co-operate in establishing the several constitutional claims of the people of Ireland, and of seeking a redress of the grievances mentioned in said resolutions.

Resolved, That the virtuous and persevering struggles of the minority of both Houses of Parliament, during the course of this session, have excited our admiration and esteem; and we find ourselves unable to express our grateful sense of the many obligations which their country lies under to them, for their vigilance, capacity and unshaken integrity.

We shall, for the present, content ourselves with the firm and unalterable purpose, that none but such men shall, on future elections, have our votes and interest; and though it may be difficult to find equal merit, yet, it shall ever be our study and highest ambition to cultivate kindred principles.

Resolved, That Messrs. William Stewart, William Hunter, John McClure, John Kelsey, John Malcum, William Johnson, and William Radcliff, be a committee to convene the parish, and to act in concert with any assembly of Delegates from the freeholders of the several towns and parishes in this neighbourhood, or in either of the counties of Antrim, or Down, this parish being partly in each of said counties, as we have no doubt but Delegates for that purpose will be appointed by the freeholders of every town and parish, not only in the province, but throughout the kingdom.

Ordered, That these resolutions be published four times in the Dublin Evening Post, and four times in the Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order,

WILLIAM STEWART, Chairman.

## TOWN of LURGAN.

Lurgan, March 18, 1782.

*At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Lurgan, and its Neighbourhood, convened by public Notice at the Church.*

ADAM CUPPAGE, Esq; in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously entered into :

1st. **T**HAT the present alarming crisis calls on every man, publicly and unequivocally to declare his sentiments, relative to the rights of this kingdom.

2d. That we are sensible of our interests being inseparable from those of Great Britain; but that we do not hold ourselves bound by, or amenable to any statutes, except such as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled.

3d. That we will, to the utmost of our power, support each other, and all our fellow-subjects, in the free exercise of these, and all other our just rights and privileges.

4th. That our Chairman and Secretary, together with John Law, John Greer, Thomas Druitt, Thomas Bowen, Henry Dea, Joseph Hall and John Gaddas, do, in the name of the freeholders of the Manor of Brownlow's Derry, request the High Sheriff of the county to convene the Grand Jury and freeholders, during the ensuing assizes, for the purpose of enabling our representatives in parliament to declare the united opinion of their constituents.

Signed by order of the meeting,

RICHARD EUSTACE, Sec.



## COUNTY of LOUTH REGIMENT.

*At a Meeting of Delegates from the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, the Ballymascullan Rangers, the Ardee Rangers, and the Dundalk Train of Artillery, at Ardee, the 18th of March, 1782, pursuant to notice.*

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the above-mentioned corps do now unite, and take the name of the county of Louth regiment.

Resolved,

Resolved unanimously, That the Earl of Charlemont be, and he is hereby appointed Colonel of this regiment.

Resolved unanimously, That Thomas Read, Esq; be, and he is hereby appointed Lieutenant Colonel; but, Mr. Read being obliged to decline it on account of his present bad state of health, Thomas Lee, Esq; was unanimously chosen in his room.

Resolved unanimously, That Robert M'Neale, Esq; be, and he is hereby appointed Major.

Resolved unanimously, That the Rev. Edward Hudson be, and he is hereby appointed Chaplain.

Resolved unanimously, That Pullein Spencer, Esq; be, and he is hereby appointed Adjutant; but Mr. Spencer being obliged to decline it, on account of his already being Adjutant to the Dundalk Troop, Mr. Jeremiah Hatch was unanimously chosen in his room.

Resolved unanimously, That William Lee, Esq; be, and he is hereby appointed Surgeon.

Resolved unanimously, That we, from our hearts, approve of the resolutions entered into by the Ulster Delegates at Dungannon, on the 15th ult. resolutions dictated by that firm, yet temperate spirit, which, if persisted in, must ensure success.

Resolved unanimously, That as we shall never be wanting in loyalty to our sovereign, so are we determined to be equally regardful of that duty which we owe to ourselves and to our posterity, and that therefore we shall cheerfully co-operate with our fellow-subjects, in such legal and constitutional exertions as shall be deemed most effectual for obtaining a redress of those grievances under which we labour.

Resolved unanimously, That Lieutenant Colonel Lee, and Pullein Spencer, Esq; do wait upon the Earl of Charlemont with the following address, and that the same, with his Lordship's answer be published, in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,  
THOMAS READ, Chairman.



*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Charlemont.*

*My Lord,*

AMBITIOUS of being commanded by a nobleman of your Lordship's exalted reputation, the county of Louth corps, having formed a regiment, unanimously solicit your Lordship's acceptance of the command.

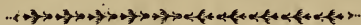
Should



Should we be so happy as to succeed, we shall use our best exertions to emulate those truly respectable corps who already enjoy that honour to which we aspire.

Signed by order,

THOMAS READ, Chairman.



Lieutenant Colonel Lee, and Pullein Spencer, Esq; having accordingly waited upon the Earl of Charlemont with the above address, his Lordship was pleased to return the following answer :

*To the Gentlemen of the County of Louth Regiment.*

*Gentlemen,*

THOUGH many cogent reasons, drawn more especially from the various avocations in which I am already engaged, and from my consciousness of the want of sufficient ability, properly to perform the tasks assigned me, concur to dissuade me from accepting the high and singular honour conferred on me by your address, yet, the preference given to me by a body of gentlemen so truly respectable, is too agreeably flattering to every feeling of my heart, to allow me calmly to follow the dictates of a diffidence, which is, I fear, but too well grounded.

I do therefore most gratefully accept of the high office to which you have raised me, hoping and expecting that the same partial goodness which has prompted your choice, will induce you to pardon my deficiencies, and beseeching you to accept my warmest acknowledgments, as the only retribution I can make for so great and so unexpected a favour.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your most obliged, faithful,

And obedient, humble servant.

CHARLEMONT.

*Dublin,*

*March 23, 1782.*



# CARRICK-ON-SUIRE UNION.

*At a full Meeting of the Carrick-on-Suire Union, on the 19th Day of March, 1782.*

Capt. EDWARD MORGAN MANDEVILL in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we will co-operate with our brother Volunteers in every constitutional measure.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the different corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, for their patriotic and liberal resolutions.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Captain Ed. M. Mandevill, for his upright conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Waterford Chronicle.

Signed by order,

ED. M. MANDEVILL.



*At a general Meeting of the Freeman and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, convened by the High Sheriffs, at the Tholsel, on Tuesday the 19th of March, 1782.*

JAMES CAMPBELL, and }  
DAVID DICK, Esqrs. } in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to :

*To Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart. and Travers Hartley, Esq;  
Representatives in Parliament for the City of Dublin.*

*Gentlemen;*

AS men justly intitled to, and firmly resolved to obtain a free constitution, we require you, our trustees, to exert yourselves in the most strenuous manner, to procure an unequivocal declaration, “ *That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this country.*” And we solemnly pledge ourselves to you and to our country, that we will support the representatives of the people at the risque of our lives and fortunes, in every constitutional measure which may be pursued for the attainment of this great national object. Be assured, gentlemen, that your zeal upon this occasion, will insure you a continuance of our esteem and regard.

JAMES CAMPBELL, }  
DAVID DICK, } Sheriffs.

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The Sheriffs having waited on the Representatives, received the following Answers :

*To the Sheriffs, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin.*

*Gentlemen,*

IT has ever been my wish to receive with pleasure, and to obey the instructions of my constituents.

You may depend on my using every means in my power to procure an explicit and unequivocal declaration, " That the *King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland*, are the *only* power competent to make laws to bind this country;" and I rely on your solemn engagement to support your representatives, in every constitutional measure which may be necessary for the attainment of this great national object. Permit me to assure you, that my zeal for the accomplishment of your wishes, can be equalled only by my desire to convince you how far I esteem the trust you have reposed in me, and how much I value a continuance of the good opinion of my fellow citizens.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your obliged, and

Faithful servant,

SAMUEL BRADSTREET.



*To the Sheriffs, Freemen, and Freeholders, of the City of Dublin.*

*Gentlemen,*

I SHOULD be very unworthy of that honourable and important trust, with which you have so recently invested me, did I not receive with the highest respect, the most perfect satisfaction, and chearful conformity, your instructions, on a subject in which the national honour and security are essentially engaged. To suppose that any power, except that of the "*King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland*, is competent to make laws to bind this kingdom," is utterly inconsistent with the idea of freedom; it is equal liberty alone, which can secure that perfect harmony to the subjects of the same crown, so necessary to the prosperity both of Great Britain and Ireland. You may rely, gentlemen, on every exertion I am capable of, to procure an unequivocal declaration of the sole rights of the legislature of this kingdom, to enact laws





time, and for his unremitted attention to the Volunteer cause in general, and to this corps in particular.

Resolved unanimously, That these our resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and Dublin Journal.

Signed by order,  
JOHN WILKINSON, Secretary.



*At a full Meeting of the Athy Rangers, in Athy, on Wednesday the 20th of March, 1782, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.*

Captain WELDON in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED That, at a time like this, when questions of national honour and constitutional import are generally agitated, the discussion of which must lead to freedom, to be silent in our collective capacity, at such a crisis, would, in our opinion, be highly unworthy our characters as Volunteers and Irishmen.

Resolved therefore, That we do publicly declare our approbation of the resolutions passed by the meeting at Dunganon, on the 15th of February, expressive as they are of such real liberality of sentiment, both as to civil liberty and religious toleration, and breathing, as we think they do, a free spirit of freedom and independence well becoming men, conscious of their rights, and determined to assert them: a spirit, which, if generally adopted and openly avowed, cannot fail to procure for Ireland the full establishment of her legislative and commercial rights. In the defence of which, we hereby pledge ourselves to each other and our country, zealously to co-operate with our brother Volunteers in every constitutional exertion, to the utmost of our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That our thanks be returned to Stuart Weldon, Esq; for his politeness and attention to this corps in general, and in particular for his propriety of conduct in the chair this day.

Signed by order,

JOHN B. LEWIS, Treasurer.

BALTIN.

## BALTINGLASS MEETING.

*At a Meeting of Delegates assembled at Baltinglass, pursuant to public Notice, on the 20th inst. March, 1782.*

The Earl of ALDBOROUGH in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

1st. **RESOLVED**, That we entirely coincide in sentiments with the wise, liberal, temperate, and spirited resolutions of our Volunteer brethren, the Ulster Delegates, assembled the 15th ult. at Dungannon, and the other corps who already have, or hereafter shall adopt them, and will co-operate with them as fellow-subjects, embarked in the same just and honourable cause, in every constitutional measure, for a redress of the grievances therein expressed, and for the obtaining the perfect and secure establishment of the rights of Ireland.

2dly. That we are determined to resist, with our lives and fortunes, the operation of any law that is dictated by a foreign legislature, as we know and will acknowledge no other but that of the King of Great Britain, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

3dly. That being united to the imperial crown of Great Britain, and participating with her in every calamitous event, so likewise we consider ourselves entitled to share in every fortuitous circumstance or prosperity that can attend her—to the same rights and freedom of trade, without which jealousies must ever subsist between the sister kingdoms; for, unless our constitution stands on the same basis, it is impossible our interests should, as we sincerely wish, be inseparably connected and permanent.

4thly. That the thanks of every Volunteer corps in this kingdom are due to those virtuous few in both houses of parliament, and to them only who have made the good of their country their primary object. Such a line of conduct, backed by the voice of the people, must prevail over ministerial influence and corruption, and teach evil administrations how vain and weak is the attempt by prostituted majorities of wretched and servile placemen and pensioners, to triumph over the liberties of a brave, generous, loyal and determined people.

5thly

5thly. That the lavish misapplication and unaccounted-for grants of parliament, the profusions of government on worthless and unnecessary objects, the increase of pensions, sinecure places, and of the civil and military establishments, and the formation of useless boards, have not only induced the load of debts and taxes this nation labours under, but added to the unconstitutional and oppressive influence of administration, and are grievances which ought to be redressed.

6thly. That it is a duty becoming Volunteers who have armed in defence of their country and liberties, to recommend a system of strict œconomy to their representatives in the distribution of the public money, the abolition of all unnecessary employs and pensions, the forbearance of all needless expences, and the reduction of the military establishment, as experience hath shewn (when most wanted) it was of no service to this country ; and when our coasts were braved by the united fleets of France and Spain. and an invasion threatened, we in vain called on government for defence, we were bid to defend ourselves, as they could not, and that it was owing to the magnanimity, spirited exertions, and discipline of the Volunteers, (who, without expence to this country, armed and stood forth in its defence, and have by their continuance superceded the want of any army but themselves) that the machinations of the houses of Bourbon against this kingdom proved abortive.

7thly. That no persons but the blood-royal, as children of the public, and such worthies as have, by some striking circumstance of their life, or of their ancestry, merited well of this country, or whose situation render them deserving public consideration, ought to be suffered to be a burthen to it, and that it is highly disgraceful to such, and an imposition on this nation, to have those enrolled with them whom public prostitution have rendered infamous.

8thly. That the thanks of this meeting be given those officers and Delegates, who, by their attention to their several corps, and assistance upon these national points, have contributed their laudable efforts towards their attainment.

9thly. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Colonels the hon. Benjamin O'Neale Stratford, Sir James Stratford Tynte, Bart. and Morley Saunders, Esq; for their attention to, and for the very respectable appearance of, their respective corps.

10thly.

10thly. That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin and General Evening Posts, Dublin Journal, and be transmitted by the Secretary of this meeting to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates.

## ALDBOROUGH.

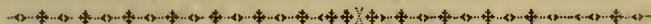
The Earl of Aldborough having quitted the chair, and Colonel Saunders having taken it, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Aldborough, for his zeal in the support of the rights of his country, as well in parliament, as upon every other occasion, and particularly for his conduct on this day.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the hon. John Stratford, and the hon. Benjamin O'Neal Stratford, for their steady and uniform endeavours to advance the freedom and interest of Ireland in parliament.

Signed by order,

JOSEPH WINNET, Secretary.



## B I R R M E E T I N G.

*At a Meeting of Delegates from Seventeen Corps of Volunteers, assembled at Birr the 20th of March, 1782.*

Sir WILLIAM PARSONS, Bart. in the Chair.

Whereas at a meeting held at Birr the 3d of September last, previous to the meeting of parliament, Colonel Roleston in the chair, the following resolutions were agreed to :

“ **R**ESOLVED, That Ireland is an independent kingdom, and can only be bound by laws enacted by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland.

“ Resolved, That a perpetual mutiny bill is a measure of the most dangerous tendency, as it vests a power in the crown, inconsistent with the liberties of the subject.

“ Resolved, That the law passed in the tenth of Henry the Seventh, commonly called Poyning's Law, is unconstitutional, as the parliament in which it was enacted, was a partial representation of the people ; and also, as it presumed to give away their rights, which we apprehend exceeds the power of parliament.

“ Resolved,



“ Resolved, That for the more impartial distribution of justice, it is proper that the commissions of Judges should be during good behaviour.”

And as it appears to us, That these resolutions have not been productive of those beneficial consequences we had reason to expect,

Resolved unanimously, That we view the virtuous endeavours of this kingdom, to ascertain and establish her just rights and privileges, with sincere joy, flowing from hearts inviolably attached to its true interest and happiness.

Resolved unanimously, That we have every reason to expect, that the liberal spirit of parliament towards the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, by emancipating them from restraints which we are happy to think no longer necessary, will be attended with the most beneficial consequences to this country, as nothing can contribute so much to encrease the prosperity and secure the independency of this kingdom, as a cordial union among its inhabitants of every religious denomination.

Resolved unanimously, That actuated by the most sincere loyalty to our Sovereign, it is our duty to declare our determined resolution to support his Majesty with our lives and fortunes against the natural enemies of Great Britain and Ireland, and to defend this his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland against the enemies of our King and constitution.

Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with the other Volunteer associations in such measures, as, guided by prudence, and supported with firmness, we conceive may most effectually tend to restore and confirm the constitution and commerce of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy Chairman, Sir William Parsons, Bart. for his propriety of conduct, and polite attention throughout the proceedings of this day.

Signed by order,

THOMAS BERRY, Sec.

MEATH

## MEATH VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of Delegates from the Volunteer Corps of the County of Meath, at Trim, March 21, 1782, convened at the requisition of Colonels Rowley and Lowther, who were both present.*

The Earl of MORNINGTON in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed on :

**R**ESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the spirited, and in these times necessary resolutions, adopted by the Ulster Volunteers, at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

Resolved, That we will, in every capacity and situation of life, co-operate with our fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, the Ulster Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon, in all constitutional efforts towards a redress of the grievances, and an establishment of the rights of Ireland.

Resolved, That a common participation in every advantage of the British constitution, being not only the unalienable right of Ireland, but also, the sole tie which can attach the interests and affections of this kingdom to Great Britain. It were equally injurious to the generosity and wisdom of the British character, to suppose that our sister country can look with a jealous eye upon that truly constitutional spirit, which now so happily pervades Ireland ; a spirit, which by promoting a temperate and seasonable assertion of the freedom of this kingdom, tends to secure the union, strength, and honourable tranquility of the British empire.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain Finlay, and the Trim corps, for their very respectable attendance under arms this day.

MORNINGTON.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Earl of Mornington, for his spirited efforts in the support of the rights of his country in parliament, and for his very proper conduct this day in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post, the Dublin Journal and General Evening Post.

Signed by order,  
E. MALONE, Sec.

*At a Meeting of the Glendermot Battalion, in Glendermot,  
the 21st of March, 1782.*

Colonel GEO. ASH in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the principles on which we associated ourselves as Volunteers, were the support of our King, and the defence of our country and constitution.

Resolved unanimously, That we will most cheerfully co-operate with our Volunteer brethren of Ireland, in asserting and maintaining the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by every means which we shall judge most proper and effectual.

Resolved unanimously, That firmness and moderation are the most eligible means of obtaining and securing our civil and commercial rights.

Resolved unanimously, That the only bond and cement of the Volunteer corps is *union*.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be given to our worthy Chairman, for the marked attention, which he has paid us as Soldiers in the defence of, and as freemen, in our exertions to ascertain the unequivocal rights of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be published in the Belfast News-Letter, the Liberty Journal, and the Dublin Evening Post.

GEO. ASH, Col. Chairman.



## LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS.

*At a numerous Meeting of the Liberty Volunteers, commanded  
by Sir Edward Newenham, 21st March, 1782.*

Captain GEORGE SLATER in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That it appears to this corps that a *Non-Importation Agreement* is the only means that can be devised to preserve this kingdom from utter ruin.

Resolved unanimously, That we do pledge ourselves to each other, and to the public, not to purchase or wear any other cloath but the manufacture of Ireland.

Resolved, That in our opinion similar resolutions throughout the kingdom would greatly serve the trade thereof.

Ordered, That the Secretary do sign these resolutions, and that the same be published three times in the Hibernian Journal and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,  
ROBERT WALKER, Sec.

*At a Meeting of all the Volunteer Corps of the County and City of Limerick, 22d March, 1782.*

Major CROKER in the Chair.

The resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon on the fifteenth day of February last, being read, paragraph by paragraph;

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we do most highly approve of these resolutions and address, and that we will co-operate with the Ulster and other Volunteer corps of this kingdom, in every constitutional mode of carrying the same into effect.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from the people, and that to act contrary to the general sense of their constituents, would be to deny this position.

Resolved unanimously, That the assertion, that *power constitutes right*, is repugnant to every principal of law, reason and common sense.

Resolved unanimously, That nine Delegates from the corps here represented (three to be a quorum) be and are hereby appointed a committee, until the next general meeting, to act as occasion shall require, for the Volunteer corps of this county and city, and communicate with the Ulster committee and the Delegates from the other Volunteer corps, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional, speedy and effectual means of carrying our resolutions into execution.

Major Croker,  
Colonel Odell,  
Colonel Massy,  
Colonel Hasslet,  
Colonel Waller,

Colonel Ryves,  
Major Lloyd,  
Colonel Smyth,  
Colonel Monsell.

Resolved unanimously, That our Chairman sign and transmit the above resolutions to the Secretary of the Ulster Volunteers, and that they be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Limerick papers.

Resolved unanimously, That the idea of a perpetual staff, is inconsistent with the spirit and institution of Volunteers.

Resolved unanimously, That the appointment of a staff for the Volunteer corps of the county and city of Limerick, except in cases of emergency, is inexpedient.

Resolved,



Resolved, That there be a general review in the course of the ensuing summer.

Resolved, That such Volunteer corps of this and the neighbouring counties, as would wish to appear at said review, be, and are hereby requested, to send a Delegate each, to meet on the 10th day of April next, at the Exchange of Limerick, in order to appoint the time and place for said review, and elect a reviewing General, by ballot.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. Lord Muskerry, Colonel Croker, Colonel Smyth, Colonel Brown, Lieutenant Colonel Harte, and Major Burgefs, for their uniform attention to the Volunteer service of this county.

Resolved unanimously, That the warmest thanks of this meeting be given to Major Croker, for his polite, spirited, and manly conduct in the chair.

EDWARD CROKER, Chairman.



## MALLOW INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS.

JOHN LONGFIELD, Esq; in the Chair.

*At a Meeting of said Corps, held the 22d Day of March, 1782.*

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of, and heartily accede to, the spirited and constitutional resolutions of the Dungannon and Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon the 15th of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That we will most chearfully co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the grievances complained of in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That we will, on all future elections, support with our votes and interest those only who we shall be convinced will be attentive to the instructions of their constituents, and will not be biased by *place, pension, or honours*, from using their utmost endeavours in parliament, for obtaining a redress of such grievances.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of these our resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates, and that they be published in the Cork and Dublin Evening Posts.

JOHN LONGFIELD, Chairman.

## KILKENNY INDEPENDENTS.

*At a Meeting of the Five Companies of Kilkenny Independents,  
held the 22d Day of March, 1782.*

Major ROCHE in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published :

**RESOLVED**, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we do solemnly pledge ourselves to support this exclusive right of the parliament of Ireland with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That Great Britain and Ireland are, and ought to be inseparably connected, by being under the dominion of the same king, and enjoying equal liberty and similar constitutions.

Resolved, That we approve of the conduct of our brother Volunteers, and will co-operate with them in supporting the constitutional rights of Ireland.

Signed by order,

VAL. COGHLAN.



*At a Meeting of the Officers of the Dungiven Battalion, March  
22, 1782.*

Major BOND in the Chair.

**T**HE resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, whose Delegates met at Dungannon the 15th of February, were read and considered, after which it was unanimously resolved,

1st. That as said resolutions appear to us, calculated to promote the just rights, and no more than the just rights, of Ireland, they justly merit our approbation.

2d. Resolved, That it is our fixed purpose to co-operate with said Volunteers, in every constitutional mode to accomplish the important end proposed by their meeting.

3d. Resolved, That major Bond do communicate our sentiments to captain James Dawson, secretary to the Dungannon meeting.

4th.

4th. Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be presented to the right hon. Edward Cary, for his particular attention to the good order and discipline of the battalion, his desire to see them on a respectable footing, and his generous and liberal contribution to promote that end.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed in the Belfast news-papers, and Londonderry Journal.



*At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Monaghan, convened by public Notice, signed by twenty-eight of the principal Inhabitants, March 22, 1782.*

Mr. FORSTER in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED, That we do most heartily approve of the resolutions of the Volunteer Delegates, assembled at Dunganannon the 15th of February last, particularly that which declares, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom. To no other laws will we submit; and it is with astonishment we behold our sister kingdom retaining claims of a contrary tendency: claims which are and must be useless to her, and insulting to us.

We will at the ensuing election, support those, and those only, who we are convinced will support the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland; but from the unequal representation of the people, we have too much reason to dread our efforts will be ineffectual. Should any well-judged attempts be made to remedy the evil, and bring the constitution to its first principles, our zealous support shall not be wanting.

We have heart-felt pleasure in that resolution, which tends to exempt from penalty our brethren, for following the dictates of conscience. Lovers of freedom—we wish to diffuse its blessings through every breast; convinced, that in this enlightened age, it is the only policy capable of producing lasting peace, harmony, and prosperity.

WM. FORSTER, Chairman.

*At a Meeting of the Nobility, Representatives, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Tyrone, at Omagh, convened by the Sheriff the 22d of March, 1782, the following Declaration and Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.*

Right Hon. Lord BELMORE in the Chair.

WE the nobility, representatives, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of Tyrone, thinking it now particularly necessary to declare our sentiments, respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation; and desirous, by a seasonable application, to terminate any anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do declare we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only, as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will in every instance, uniformly and strenuously, oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive authority from said parliament; pledging ourselves to our country, and to each other, to support with our lives and fortunes, this our solemn declaration. And further, we bind ourselves, that we will at all times renew this necessary vindication of our rights, till such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged, and firmly established by the authority of parliament. Finally, we declare, that it is our wish to remove every jealousy between Great Britain and Ireland, and to prove to the world, our unalterable affection to our sister kingdom; surrounded as she is by an host of enemies, we are determined to share her liberty and share her fate.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy representatives in parliament, James Stewart and Nathaniel Montgomery, Esqrs. for their steady, upright, and uniform good conduct in parliament.

Signed by order,

BELMORE, Chairman.

Col. Wm. IRVINE in the Chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. Lord Belmore for his conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Sheriff for his readiness in calling this meeting.

Resolved,



Resolved, That these declarations and resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, Strabane Journal, and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order,  
W. IRVINE, Chairman.



## ANTRIM MEETING.

*At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Antrim, at an Assizes held at Carrickfergus, March 22, 1782.*

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

**T**HAT we think it expedient and indispensably necessary now to express our sentiments on certain points of undoubted fundamental justice, and rights due to the subjects of this kingdom; desirous by a seasonable explanation of our minds to terminate every anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest between our sister kingdom of Great Britain and us, with whom we desire to live on the purest terms of amity and most cordial friendship, our interest being inseparable, being the same blood and people, and having the same charters of liberty and constitution granted to our ancestors when they removed from England to Ireland; and being convinced that such a unity of rights will encrease and establish the strength of the whole British empire; we therefore do declare, that we will, in every situation of life, by every constitutional means in our power, assert and support the independence of this nation, on any other legislative body than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland: we will endeavour to procure our free and equal commerce to be confirmed, and the army raised and paid by Ireland to be regulated by a limited law of that kingdom, during the time they are provided for by the Irish parliament and no longer: we will endeavour to have the liberty of the subject secured, the administration of justice impartially promoted by the independence of the Judges, holding their employments upon a better and more certain tenure; fully determined, by every constitutional means, to support the legal rights of Ireland.

Resolved,

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to our country, and to each other, to renew our endeavours to accomplish these necessary and desirable claims, until they shall be explicitly obtained and acknowledged by authority of parliament.

Resolved, That when these our inherent rights are obtained, we will support with our lives and fortunes our constitution, in *all its parts*, unaltered and unimpaired, under a Prince of the illustrious house of Hanover, as by law established.

Resolved, That we think that an inseparable connection between this country and Great Britain, but a distinct legislation, is essentially necessary not only for the prosperity of this kingdom, but for that of the empire at large.

Resolved, That we do recommend it in the strongest manner to the independent Volunteers of Ulster, to persevere in that spirit of moderation and steady adherence to the laws and constitution of their country, which has hitherto done them so much honour, and has been of so essential service to preserve the internal peace of Ireland.

A. Mc. Manus, Sheriff.

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Barth. Mc. Naughten, | 12 John Hunter,       |
| Foreman,               | 13 Stewart Banks,     |
| 2 James Leslie,        | 14 Jackson Wray,      |
| 3 Ez. D. Boyd,         | 15 Joseph Hardy,      |
| 4 Her. Rowley,         | 16 John Allen,        |
| 5 Roger Moore,         | 17                    |
| 6 William Legg,        | 18 Clotworthy Rowley, |
| 7 John Cromie,         | 19 Francis Shaw,      |
| 8 Alexander Mc. Aulay, | 20 James White,       |
| 9 Andrew Todd,         | 21                    |
| 10 John Brown,         | 22 George Black,      |
| 11 Thomas Thompson,    | 23 Waddel Cunningham. |

Resolved unanimously, That the above resolutions, with the names annexed, be given to the High Sheriff, and that he be requested to have them published three times in the Dublin Evening Post, Dublin Journal, and Belfast News-Letter.

## COUNTY of WEXFORD.

## ENNISCORTHY LIGHT DRAGOONS.

*At a Meeting of the Enniscorthy Light Dragoons, held in Enniscorthy, on Saturday, March 23, 1782.*

Captain CHARLES DAWSON in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That any laws made to bind this kingdom, by any other power, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That as from long experience we can repose unbounded confidence in our representatives, we will support them with our lives and fortunes, in whatever declaration of rights they may make in parliament for the salvation of the constitution and the good of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of the Dungannon resolutions, and that we will, to the utmost of our abilities, co-operate with the corps whose Delegates met on the 15th day of February, at Dungannon, in every constitutional effort to support our just rights and properties; and that we will send a Delegate to attend any meeting that may hereafter be held in Dublin, for the purpose of supporting these our resolutions, and communicating with our brethren Volunteers of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That it gives us particular pleasure, that the parliament of this kingdom have thought proper to relax the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic brethren, as we consider those restraints no longer necessary on a body of men, who have shaken off the influence of an ecclesiastical prince in temporals, and joined with us to diffuse the blessings of unanimity in civil government, through this kingdom; under our most gracious Sovereign, and that we hope that the bill now depending for that purpose may, without any obstruction or delay, be carried into a law.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Captain James Dawson, by our Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That our thanks be given to Colonel Phaire, for convening this meeting, and for his letter this day addressed to the Chairman.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Captain Charles Dawson, Chairman, for his very proper conduct this day.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be printed six times in the Dublin Evening Post and Wexford Journal.

CHARLES DAWSON, Chairman.

Bangor, March 23, 1782.

*At a numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town and Parish of Bangor, convened by a public Advertisement, signed by several of the principal Freeholders.*

Rev. JAMES HAM. CLEWLOW in the Chair.

The resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, being read paragraph by paragraph,

**R**ESOLVED, That the said resolutions and address fully and perfectly express our sentiments, and that we will co-operate with all the friends of Ireland, with our lives and fortunes, in obtaining our national rights.

Resolved, That we will vote for no candidate at any future election, who shall not enter into the most solemn engagement, that he will endeavour to procure redress of all the grievances mentioned in the Dungannon resolutions; that he will regularly attend his duty in parliament, and obey the instructions of his constituents.

Resolved, That the persons who shall be thought worthy of our support, shall not be subjected to any expence on our account.

Resolved, That a freeholder is answerable only to God for his vote, and that whosoever shall attempt to influence him by any other means than that of argument, is an enemy to the freedom of election, and consequently to the real interest of his country.

Resolved, That James Hamilton Clewlow, John Crawford, Pat. Cleveland, William Nicholson, Don. Nicholson, James Hull, John Blackwood, William Blackwood, James Gray, James Johnstone, Hugh Jackson, Robert Dunn and Alexander Reid, be appointed a committee to call the next meeting of the parish, and till then to communicate with similar committees,



mittees, which may be appointed in other parishes of this county, five to be a quorum.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order,

JAMES HAM. CLEWLOW.



## DUNLAVAN MEETING.

*At a Meeting of the Dunlavan Light Dragoons and Battalion, held at Dunlavan in the County of Wicklow, the 23d day of March, 1782.*

Colonel Sir JAMES STRATFORD TYNTE, Bart. in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the spirit, moderation, and liberality of sentiment, expressed in the resolutions entered into at Dungannon, by the Delegates of the province of Ulster, merit the approbation and support of this corps.

Resolved unanimously, That we do highly approve of the conduct of our representatives in parliament for this county, whose endeavours, though ineffectual, to procure us their constituents a redress of grievances, merit our sincere and warmest thanks.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be returned to our worthy colonel Sir James Stratford Tynite, for his unremitted attention to the order and discipline of this corps, and his upright conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening post, and in Faulkner's and the Carlow Journals.

By order,

JOHN HALL, Secretary,

KIN.

## KINSALE VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Kinsale Volunteers, this 24th Day of March, 1782.*

Captain LEARY in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we highly approve of the truly patriotic resolutions of that very respectable meeting of the Delegates, convened at Dunganannon, the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with our brother Volunteers in every constitutional measure that shall be judged necessary for obtaining a redress of national grievances, and for supporting our undoubted, unalienable rights, as freemen.

Resolved unanimously, That in entering into these resolutions jointly with the other Volunteers, we are convinced that we are taking the most effectual means in our power for removing all future cause of jealousy between Great Britain and Ireland, and for cementing that union of hearts and sentiments between our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and us, now so indispensably necessary for the safety of both.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Colonel Kearny, for his great attention and care of the corps, and that he will forward these resolutions to the Secretary of the Ulster Volunteers, and that the same be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Cork papers.

F. LEARY Chairman.



## C O R K U N I O N.

*At a numerous Meeting of the Cork Union, held on Sunday the 24th Day of March, 1782.*

HENRY HICKMAN, Captain-commandant, in the Chair.

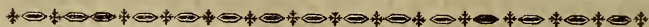
**R**ESOLVED, That as we perfectly coincide with the several corps assembled at Macrump, on Monday the 18th day of March inst. on the expediency of a general meeting of Delegates from the Volunteer corps of this county and city, to  
carry

carry their late resolutions into effect, we submit to them the propriety of appointing Sunday the seventh of April next, as the most convenient day for that purpose.

Resolved, That Delegates from this corps shall be appointed to attend on the said seventh of April, at the county Court-house, at one o'clock, to confer with the Delegates of such other corps as shall agree in the necessity of such a meeting.

Published by order,

JAMES GREGG, Secretary.



## C O U N T Y of M A Y O.

*At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Mayo, convened by the High Sheriff, and of the Grand Jury of said County, at Spring Assizes at Castlebar, on Sunday the 24th of March, 1782.*

CHARLES COSTELLO, Esq; High Sheriff, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were enter into unanimously:

**R**ESOLVED, That representatives are sent into parliament to serve the people, and not themselves; and that any man whose parliamentary conduct inverts this proposition, deserves the indignation of his constituents.

Resolved, That the very word Representative, implying a delegated, not a personal right; men who are elected into that office ought, like trustees in private life, be subject to the controul of those for whose benefit they were entrusted.

Ordered, That a people who could suffer their most sacred rights to be bartered for the emolument of an individual, would deservedly become objects of contempt, as they would be the accomplices of his guilt, without even the excuse of his temptation.

Resolved, That although it may in general be expedient to leave members of parliament open to the conviction of debate, yet, as long experience has evinced that few proselytes are made by reason, when opposed to the conclusive arguments of places and pensions, it becomes necessary for the people in great national questions to interpose, that their voice may strengthen the honest, and awe the corrupt representative.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the present important period calls loudly upon every man in this country, to take an active and decided part in the public cause. It is not now the contest of different factions for power, it is the struggle of our constitution for existence and emancipation; at such a moment, to be silent, is to be criminal. Impressed with these sentiments, and determined to support them, We

Resolved, That no power on earth has a right to make laws to bind this kingdom, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that any Irishman, who directly or indirectly dares to deny that position, is an enemy to his country, and can only be sheltered from its resentment, by the contemptibility of his character.

Resolved, That we expect a declaration of our national rights from our legislature, and that we will support them therein, with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved. That a bill limitting placemen and pensioners in parliament to a very small number, would be the most effectual means of plucking up corruption by the roots.

Resolved, That this kingdom ought to equalize its expences to its revenues. It appears to us equally ruinous in a nation as in an individual, to engraft present extravagance upon future and contingent wealth.

Resolved, That the following resolutions and address be presented to our representatives in parliament.

That our duty to our country is paramount to all private obligations, and so preceeds every tie inconsistent with the public welfare: We, therefore, pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freemen and men of honour, that neither private virtues, private friendships, or connections, shall influence our votes for members of parliament, if in opposition to the interests of our country, but that the public conduct of the candidate shall alone be the test by which we will guide our suffrages.

To the Hon. George Browne, and James Cuske, Esqrs.

Gentlemen,  
A NATION emerging from oppression by the noblest exertions which the history of mankind can record, has called upon her legislature to assert her rights, and vindicate its own privileges. The Grand Jury and freeholders of this county (one of the largest and most considerable in the kingdom)



dom) should blush, if they did not join their fellow-subjects in the call. A singular concurrence of circumstances has given us an opportunity of establishing our constitution, and our commerce, which once lost, may perhaps never be regained. As we have not until now regularly instructed you, we shall not impeach your past parliamentary conduct, however dissonant from our sentiments.

But we have a right to expect, if you value the approbation and support of your constituents, that you will in future act conformable to their instructions. We do not however, at present, wish to embarrass the great national questions, by objects that may be digested and adopted at more leisure next session of parliament. We therefore, on this occasion, shall confine ourselves to the following measures, which we call upon you, as our representatives, to support, viz. *A declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the assumed power of the Privy Council to stop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; and a bill rendering the Judges independent of the Crown.*

Although this is not a moment for compliment to individuals, we cannot conclude this address, without paying a just tribute to those virtues which have won you the affection and esteem of your countrymen in private life.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Henry Lynch Blossie, Bart. for his spirited and uniformly upright conduct in parliament, in the support of the rights of his country.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Richard Martin, Esq; for having spiritedly pledged himself to this meeting, that his parliamentary conduct shall be exerted in the support of these resolutions in general, and particularly respecting the four great national questions; a declaration of rights; Poyning's law; a limited mutiny bill, and the independence of our Judges.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Delegates who met at Dungannon and Ballinasloe, for their spirited resolutions and address, and that the Chairman be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to their Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Charles Costello, Esq; High Sheriff of this county, for having so readily convened this meeting, and for his proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Anthony Brabazon and Edmond Jordon, Esqrs. for their spirited conduct, in framing and presenting these resolutions.

Resolved,

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by our worthy chairman, and also presented to the Grand Jury and freeholders of this county for that purpose.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, Connaught Journal, and Connaught Advertiser.

Charles Costello, Sheriff. Thomas Ormsby,  
Valentine Blake, foreman, John Browne,  
Dennis Browne, Neal O'Donnell,  
Henry Browne, Dominick Geoffry Browne,  
Henry Bingham, George Fitzgerald,  
William Birmingham, Edmond Jordan,  
Anthony Brabazon, George O'Maly,  
James Browne, George Jackson,  
William Orme, John Ormsby,

And six hundred and fourteen freeholders.

Sir Roger Palmer, Bart. and member of parliament, though present, and assenting to those resolutions and address, was the only man in the county who declined signing them!

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At a General Meeting of the Hanover Society of Clough-
nahilly, on the 25th day of March, 1782.

Col. HUNGERFORD in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That we highly applaud the meeting of the Delegates at Dungannon on the 15th of February last; and that we will co-operate with our brethren Volunteers, in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the grievances of this kingdom.

Resolved, That as soldiers and freemen, we will ever stand forth in defence of our liberties, and support (as far as lies in our power) the rights of the parliament of Ireland.

Resolved, That we are happy at the prospect of having these jealousies (which hitherto created a distrust between a part of our fellow-subjects) removed by the liberal spirit of our parliament.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed in the Dublin and Cork Evening Posts, and a copy thereof be transmitted to major Dawson, secretary to the Ulster Volunteers.

RICH. HUNGERFORD, Colonel.

COUNTY of WEXFORD.

ENNISCORTHY ARTILLERY,

At a Meeting of the Enniscorthy Train of Artillery, on Monday the 25th Day of March, 1782.

Major WILLIAM BENNETT in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we will in every sense, and in every capacity, support the resolutions entered into at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and that we are happy in having it in our power thus publicly to express our approbation of such spirited and patriotic resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That we think no power under Heaven competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

We embrace this opportunity (which affords us particular pleasure) to return our warmest thanks to George Ogle, Esq; and Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart. our representatives, for their spirited and upright conduct in parliament; they having hitherto, on all occasions, been ready, zealous, and forward in supporting every constitutional mode of restoring to this kingdom its rights and privileges, and as there remains no doubt but such men must persevere in the same line hereafter, we shall with pleasure use our utmost efforts to support them in it.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps are justly due to Joshua Pouden, Esq; our colonel, for his unwearied attention to this corps.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to major William Bennett, for his very proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be signed by our chairman, and published in the Dublin Evening Post and Wexford Journal.

Signed by order,
WIL. BENNETT, Chairman.

DRUMAHARE BLUES.

At a full Meeting of the Drumahare Blues, assembled the 25th of March, 1782.

Lieut. ARMSTRONG in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That we steadily adhere to the original principles of our association, the defence of our country against foreign invasion, and the preservation of our internal peace. ¶

Resolved, That our political sentiments are already so fully described in the Dungannon and Ballinasloe assemblies of Delegates, that they leave us no words adequate to express our warmest approbation: and we therefore request they will consider this corps as perfectly coinciding with their spirited and loyal determination.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to the Secretaries of the Dungannon and Ballinasloe Delegates, and that the same be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Sligo Journal.

Signed by order,

WILLIAM BARTLY, Sec.



BANDON MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Volunteer Corps of Bandon Cavalry, and Bandon Independent Company, convened by their respective commanding Officers at Bandon, the 25th of March, 1782.

FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq; Colonel of the Bandon Independent Company, in the Chair.

The resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, at a meeting holden by their representatives at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February, 1782; being read,

RESOLVED unanimously, That the said resolutions and address are conceived with a spirit of patriotism and liberality of sentiment, which deserves our admiration and praise, and, as they

they are calculated to remove grievances under which this kingdom labours, and directed to a constitutional mode of redressing those grievances, meet with our full approbation.

Resolved unanimously, That as it is our duty, so it is our determination, to give every possible encouragement to the manufactures of Ireland, and we do recommend this as a proper object of the consideration and adoption of every patriotic Irishman in general, and of our brother Volunteers in particular, as the most likely means of alleviating the present, and of obviating the future distresses of our manufacturers, and of compensating in some measure to Ireland, for the specious, though hitherto ideal and delusive, advantages of a *Free Trade*.

Resolved unanimously, That the enormous list of pensions which are now paid by this country, and many of them to the most worthless and undeserving, is a grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That we look upon religious toleration as highly advantageous to society, as powerfully aidant to civil liberty, as necessary for the strength and happiness of a state, and that we feel the greatest joy at the relaxation of those severe laws which affected the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom; a measure most wise, most political, most necessary, and which must be attended with the happiest consequences, and produce a perfect union among all the people of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That we are attached to our most gracious Sovereign with the most zealous and unshaken loyalty, and that our firm resolution is to risk our lives and properties in defence of his crown, person, and dignity.

Resolved unanimously, That we regard our fellow-subjects of Great Britain with the most sincere affection, and wish always to maintain the closest connection with them, convinced that such is absolutely necessary for the strength and preservation of both kingdoms; but as we are willing to share their fate in the extremities of danger, we are resolved to enjoy the free constitution they boast, and to which we are equally entitled, and resolve, that no power on earth can make laws to bind Ireland, except the King, Lords, and Commons thereof.

Resolved unanimously, That the doctrine of *power conferring right*, is erroneous, contrary to all systems of natural law, founded upon principles which are absolutely false, and tending towards the subversion of the natural rights of mankind.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That we do think it now absolutely necessary to declare, That the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people.

Resolved, With six dissenting voices, (five being of the Cavalry, and one of the Independent Company) That corruption in the representatives of the people is the great obstacle to any redress of grievances, and that we will not aid or assist by suffrage, influence or otherwise, any man, who will not use every endeavour to obtain a redress of the grievances enumerated in the resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, at the meeting holden the 15th of February, at Dunganon.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be signed by the commanding officers of each corps, and transmitted by the Secretary to Captain Dawson, Secretary to the meeting at Dunganon, and be also published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Cork Newspapers.

S. STAWELL, Colonel Bandon Cavalry.

F. BERNARD, Colonel Bandon Independent Company.

The Chairman having left the chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be, and is hereby returned to Colonel Bernard, for his upright, manly, and truly patriotic conduct in parliament, and also for his peculiar propriety of conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to Captain Sealy, for his readiness in accepting the office of Secretary.

KILLYMOON VOLUNTEERS.

Killymoon Battalion and Artillery Company, *on Parade,*
March the 26th, 1782.

THE several companies now assembled, having already, on their separate parades, expressed their approbation of the proceedings of the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, at Dunganon, on the 15th of February last;

Resolved unanimously, at this our first general meeting since that time, That the Killymoon Battalion and Artillery Company do highly approve of, and fully accede to, the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, and that our Adjutant be ordered to send a copy of this resolution to Captain Dawson, Secretary to their committee.

ROBERT WHITE, Adjutant.

CASTLEDERMOTT VOLUNTEERS.

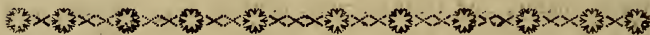
At a full Meeting of the Castledermott Independent Horse, on the 26th of March, 1782.

Captain ROBERT POWER in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That as a free-born people, we have a right to enjoy every advantage in trade that the good situation of our country affords, without further controul than what the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland may think proper, and that we will co-operate with our brethren Volunteers in procuring a redress of such grievances as our country justly claims, and that we will hold ourselves in readiness, at all times, to assist our sister kingdom of Great Britain in subduing her natural enemies.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to our Captain, Robert Power, Esq; for his constant attention to this corps.



BALLINROBE MEETING.

At a Meeting of Delegates from the following Volunteer Corps, commanded by James Cuff, Esq; viz. Kilmain Horse and Infantry, Crossmolina Infantry and Artillery, Killala Infantry and Tyrawly Rangers.

Major JOHN D'ARCY in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and that we will co-operate with them in every constitutional measure which can tend to obtain a redress of the grievances complained of in those resolutions.

JOHN D'ARCY.

Ballinrobe, March 26, 1782.

CORPO-

CORPORATION of WEXFORD.

At an Assembly of the Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgeſſes, and Freemen of the Corporation of Wexford, convened at the Request of a great number of the Burgeſſes and Freemen thereof, on Wedneſday the 27th Day of March, 1782, pursuant to public Notice, the following Addreſs and Declaration were unaniouſly agreed to.

To RICH. NEVILL and RICH. LE HUNT, Eſqrs.
Representatives in Parliament for ſaid Borough.

Gentlemen,

WE deem it highly neceſſary to declare that you poſſeſs our entire confidence, and that we are ſo thoroughly convinced of your unalterable attachment to the conſtitutional rights and commercial intereſts of this kingdom, as to make us hope for your representation in a future parliament.

We entertain ſo juſt a ſenſe of your integrity and abilities, that it is by no means our intention to inſtruct you on particular points; but as it has been alledged by deſigning men, for their own unconſtitutional purpoſes, that the minority in parliament have ſpoken language not perfectly approved of by their conſtituents, we think it peculiarly our duty thus publicly to declare, that we will, in every ſituation of life, and with all the means in our power, aſſert and maintain the conſtitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by ſuch laws only as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every inſtance, uniformly and ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the execution of any ſtatutes, except ſuch as derive authority from ſaid parliament, pledging ourſelves to our country, and to each other, to ſupport with our lives and fortunes this our ſolemn declaration. And further, we bind ourſelves, that we will yearly renew this neceſſary vindication of our rights, till ſuch time as they ſhall be explictely acknowledged, and firmly eſtabliſhed.

We think it neceſſary to add, that if any thing ſhould prevent our preſent worthy representatives ſtanding candidates at the next general election, we will not then, or at any other time, vote for any perſon who poſſeſſes place or penſion, or who

will

will not give his solemn promise that he will not accept of either while in parliament.

We are, gentlemen,
With respect and regard,
Your obliged,
And obedient servants.

Wexford,
March 27, 1782.

Signed by order,
THOMAS JONES, Town-Clerk.

Resolved, that the above address be six times printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and Wexford Journal.



To the Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Freemen of the Corporation of Wexford.

Gentlemen,

NOTHING could have been more flattering, than the address I have had now the pleasure of receiving from you. The sentiments contained in it reflect the highest honour on men so gloriously determined to assert and maintain their rights, to attain which, you shall ever have my most zealous endeavours.

Permit me to assure you of my warmest gratitude, for the very strong proof you have given of your approbation of my conduct, by wishing to repose a further trust in me, which I shall always receive from your hands with the truest heartfelt satisfaction, as it convinces me of the rectitude of my past proceedings, and the necessity of the friends of Ireland adhering strenuously to principles so justly calculated to promote and confirm their emancipation.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

And most faithful,

Humble servant,

Burnace, April 3, 1782.

RICHARD NEVILL.



To the Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Freemen of the Corporation of Wexford.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE received your address, which contains so marked a proof of the continuance of your kind disposition towards me,
with

with the most heartfelt satisfaction. To make vain professions of principles which I have not for some time had an opportunity of carrying into action, might appear rather ostentatious than becoming. I shall therefore only, on the present occasion, solemnly declare my thorough coincidence of opinion with yours, and that the same constitutional principles which have repeatedly been honoured with your approbation shall continue to possess my breast, while I have existence.

My ill state of health might, perhaps, have discouraged me from soliciting a continuance of your confidence in me ; but I can never suffer myself to be so far depressed, as not to meet the wishes of my constituents, from whom I have received so many and such important obligations.

You, gentlemen, have a right to judge for yourselves, and to call for the services of any citizen ; to you, therefore, I cheerfully commit myself, and if you shall think proper to honour me at the general election with a continuance of your representation, I shall do my utmost to discharge the duties of it. My abilities may be weakened, but my zeal never shall.

I am peculiarly happy to find my worthy colleague joined with me in your address, as the greatest unanimity has ever prevailed between us ; and it has been our constant study to unite our efforts in the service of the public.

I am, gentlemen,

With respect and gratitude,

Your faithful servant,

Artramont, April 1, 1782.

RICH. LE HUNT.



*At a Meeting of the Officers of the First Donegall Regiment,
held at Lifford, March 27, 1782*

Lieut. Col. HAMILTON in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dunganon on the 15th of February, 1782.

Resolved, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose Delegates met at Dunganon, and with the other volunteer corps who shall pursue the same line of conduct, in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

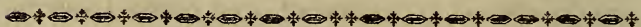
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Resolved,

Resolved, That we are determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support our natural and constitutional rights, that of being governed only by such laws as may be enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is our earnest wish, that all jealousies which may subsist between us and our sister kingdom, might be removed, as we should be ready and willing to share with her in every fate, and happy at every opportunity of proving our loyalty and attachment to our sovereign.

JAS. HAMILTON, Chairman.



LONDONDERRY MEETING.

At a Common-hall, held pursuant to public Notice, March 28, 1782.

ROBERT FAIRLY, Esq; Mayor, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following declaration be published :

WE, the Mayor and freemen of Londonderry, convinced that at this period, it is incumbent on all the people of Ireland publicly to assert the unalienable rights of this nation, and that a seasonable exertion may produce such explanation as will remove the possibility of future contest with Great Britain, do declare, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, maintain the right of this kingdom, to be governed only by the King, Lords, and Commons thereof; and that we will in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes which do not derive their authority from the King, Lords, and Commons aforesaid, pledging ourselves to our country, and to each other, to support, with our lives and fortunes, this our solemn declaration; and further, as men sensible of the excellence of the British constitution, and resolved to assert our right to a full enjoyment thereof, as subjects of the same King, and entitled to equal freedom, we must reprobate the powers exercised by the Privy Council under cover of Poyning's law, a mutiny bill unlimited in point of duration, and the dependence of our Judges on the pleasure of the Crown: these are shackles upon the freedom of our constitution, which are unknown to the British, and grievances which it is the

the duty of the representatives of the people to redress. To exert the influence we constitutionally possess is our duty: we do therefore now strictly bind ourselves, by every tie of honour, to oppose the re-election of any member of the House of Commons, who will not on every occasion support a parliamentary declaration of rights, a constitutional modification of Poyning's law, a limitation of the mutiny bill, and every exertion necessary to establish the independence of the Judges.

Whereas it has been suggested, that the proceedings of the Irish nation, have been represented in England, as arising from a wish in the people of this country to shake off all connection with our sister kingdom;

Resolved unanimously, That it is our earnest wish to preserve, and by removing all jealousies, perpetuate an intimate and constitutional connection with Britain, and that, surrounded as she is by an host of enemies, we are determined to *share her liberty and share her fate*.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of our declaration, and the above resolution, be transmitted to our representatives.

Resolved unanimously, That the warm thanks of this meeting be given to James Alexander, Esq; for his uniform exertions in support of the rights of Ireland, and for his constitutional declaration to us this day.

Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Dublin Evening Post, the Derry Journal, and the Belfast News-Letter.

ROBERT FAIRLY, Mayor.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Mayor, for his readiness in convening the citizens, and for his proper conduct in the chair.

JAMES ATCHESON,

Secretary to the meeting.

LOYAL

LOYAL BALLINA and ARDNAREE VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Ballina and Ardnaree Volunteers, assembled by public Notice, on the 28th of March, 1782.

Lieut. ROBERT JONES in the Chair.

WHEREAS a very great and decided majority of the people of Ireland are unanimously determined to obtain a redress of the grievances stated at large in the Dungannon resolutions, the existence of which is so apparently evident; Now, we the Loyal Ballina and Ardnaree Volunteers, associated from the beginning, as well to protect the constitution of our country from illegal encroachments, as to defend it from hostile invasion, do accord unanimously to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the voice of that great and decided majority of the people of Ireland, is the voice of the people of Ireland.

Resolved, That animated with a manly sense of our country's wrongs, we most cordially accede to the resolutions of the spirited and patriotic Delegates assembled at Dungannon: when those resolutions are sanctified by the opinion of a corps, which has made the science of Law and the Irish constitution their particular care, study, and attention, a redress of grievances will necessarily be expected.

Signed by order,

T. MULLOY, Secretary.

At a very numerous Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Parish of CARMONY, convened by public Notice the 28th of March, 1782.

RICHARD BATESON, Esq; in the Chair.

The resolutions of the Delegates assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, were considered, and the following resolutions entered into not only with unanimity, but zealous affection.

1st. **R**ESOLVED, That we highly approve, and cordially accede to said resolutions, as breathing the genuine spirit of *moderate* patriotism, loyalty and liberty.

2d. Re-

2d. Resolved, That as the body of the people is the most essential and important part of the community, the support and strength of government; and as it is the duty of *every individual* to know and assert his own rights and those of his country, so we, as a part of this great body, are earnestly desirous to co-operate with the real friends of Ireland, in every constitutional measure which may tend to secure its freedom and prosperity, and procure a speedy and effectual redress of national grievances.

3d. Resolved, That private friendship, and private obligations ought, in reason, to yield to the love and duty we owe to our country, and that the contrary idea is pregnant with the most dangerous consequences to *national virtue*, as it is paying a private debt at the public expence, and sacrificing to individuals the duty we owe to the community at large.

4th. Resolved, That the virtue of the people is the most effectual check to the venality of the representative; that consequently to elect men of a doubtful character, or notoriously under the influence of government, is to be accomplices in their guilt, accessory to any evil consequences which may ensue from such a choice, and traitors to our country.

5th. Resolved, That we will virtuously discharge the sacred trust reposed in us by the constitution, in supporting, by every effort in our power, at any ensuing election, him, and him only, whose former fidelity or future solemn and unequivocal declarations shall render worthy of a call so honourable, and a trust so important; and we pledge ourselves to our country and each other, to exert every constitutional means to carry into effectual execution these our solemn resolutions.

6th. Resolved, That Richard Bateson, Esq; Rev. Mat. Garnet, Rev. John Thompson, Messrs. William Bateson, Nicholas Grimshaw, John Cairns, William Anderson, John Russell and Robt. Mc. Creight be, and they are hereby appointed a committee, to convene from time to time, as they shall judge necessary, a general meeting of this parish; and in the interim, to act in concert with any assembly of Delegates from the neighbouring towns and parishes, in promoting and securing the important ends of the Dungannon meeting.

7th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, Richard Bateson, Esq.

Resolved, That these resolutions be thrice published in the Belfast News-Letter, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

RICHARD BATESON, Chairman.

At a Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the County of the City of Waterford, at the Tholsel in said City, constitutionally convened this 28th Day of March, 1782, pursuant to Notice from the Sheriffs.

WILLIAM BARRETT and JAMES RAMSEY, Esqrs.
Sheriffs, in the Chair.

The following instructions were unanimously agreed to :

To Cornelius Bolton and Robert Shapland Carew, Esqrs. representatives of the City of Waterford.

Gentlemen,

AT a crisis the most momentous which Ireland has ever experienced, when every class of men through this kingdom zealously concur in demanding those constitutional privileges which are the unalienable birth-right of a free people (notwithstanding the misrepresentations of open and secret enemies, who would insinuate that it is the wish and aim of this kingdom to dissolve that union which has subsisted for six centuries with Great Britain) conscious that friendship and social affection will be most effectually secured between the sister kingdoms, by a perfect enjoyment of equal liberties and equal privileges, we should consider ourselves as guilty of the most criminal negligence, as highly deficient in that sacred duty which we owe to our country and ourselves, did we delay for a moment to declare to you, our representatives, to whom we have delegated our dearest trusts, our unalterable sentiments on those great constitutional questions, which, in their decision, must involve our existence as a free people.

We call upon you to exert your utmost endeavours to procure a full and explicit parliamentary declaration of the rights of this country, that no man, or body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had, have, or ought to have a right to make laws to bind this kingdom ; on this basis alone can the constitutional privileges of this realm rest in permanent security.

We instruct you, as far as in you lies, to endeavour to procure a repeal of that law of Poyning's, under colour of which, powers are exercised by the Privy Council, inconsistent with, and inimical to the rights of a free people.

We

We have beheld, with the utmost concern, a mutiny bill enacted, which, not being limited in duration, like the English law, has created a perpetual standing army, peculiarly dangerous in this country, where a large hereditary revenue has greatly encreased the power of the Crown. To a repeal of this law we would direct your warmest exertions.

That the fountain of justice may be pure and unpolluted, the independence of Judges should be firmly established and carefully guarded; and we cannot but express our surprise, that a bill tending to so laudable a purpose, has not yet been granted to the wishes of a loyal people.

In these points, most essentially affecting the rights of a free nation, we demand your attention, convinced by experience, that you will persevere in that line of conduct, which you have hitherto pursued with honour to yourselves, and satisfaction to your constituents.

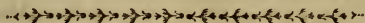
These our instructions are not founded in any distrust, but to add weight and energy to your parliamentary exertions.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of the instructions now agreed to by this meeting, be presented to each of our representatives in parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the Sheriffs be requested to have the instructions to our representatives, with their answers, published in the Waterford papers, and General Evening Post.

WILLIAM BARRETT, }
JAMES RAMSEY, } Sheriffs.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Willam Barrett and James Ramsey, Esqrs. Sheriffs of this city, for their ready compliance with the requisition, by calling this meeting, and their very proper conduct in the chair this day.



To William Barrett, and James Ramsey, Esqrs. Sheriffs, and to the Freeman and Freeholders of the County of the City of Waterford, convened at the Tholiel, by the Sheriffs, on the 28th of March, 1782.

Gentlemen,

I RECEIVED your instructions, and am happy to find that you approve the part I have taken in parliament.

Since

Since I have had the honour of representing you, I have endeavoured to pursue that line of conduct, which appeared to me most conducive to the public welfare; your desiring me to persevere in it, convinces me I acted right.

I shall pay particular attention to the great constitutional questions you have pointed out.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

And devoted servant,

Ballycanvan,
March 29, 1782.

CORN. BOLTON.



To William Barrett, and James Ramsey, Esqrs. Sheriffs, and to the Gentlemen, Freemen, and Freeholders of the County of the City of Waterford, assembled at the Tholsel in said City, on the 28th Day of March, 1782.

Gentlemen,

THE moment is at hand when the unalienable rights of this free nation, and the independence of its legislature must for ever be established; when the union between Great Britain and this country (the only firm basis of which is equal liberty) will be inseparably cemented. The universal voice of a spirited, enlightened, and determined people demands it, and the voice of the people *must* prevail.

Uninfluenced by connection, independent in principle, the public good has been the sole rule of my parliamentary conduct. Happy am I to find that it has met the sanction of your unanimous approbation.

I have heretofore, from private opinion, promoted, as far as was in my power, the objects you now recommend to my attention, my indispensable duty to obey the instructions of my constituents, will determine me to pursue the same line, and to persevere steadily until success, answerable to the general wishes of the nation, shall be obtained.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged, most obedient,

And faithful humble servant,

ROBERT SHAP. CAREW.

GLAN-

GLANMIRE UNION.

At a monthly Meeting of the Glanmire Union, on the 28th of March, 1782.

Colonel MANNIX in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the people of Ireland are a free people, with a parliament of their own, to whose authority alone, they are subject; now, we the Glanmire Union, associated for the defence of the realm, the laws, and the constitution, do agree to the following resolutions:

Resolved unanimously, That we do not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any parliament, save only the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and that we think the people of this country are at this time particularly called upon to make such declarations.

Resolved unanimously, That we will, in every capacity, oppose the execution of any statute imposed upon us by the pretended authority of the British parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That we expect a full declaration of rights from our representatives, and that we will support with our lives and fortunes the parliament of Ireland, in declaring and asserting its rights.

Resolved, That as we are convinced the ties of private friendship should yield to the juster claims of national virtue, and our country's good, so we are unalterably determined, on every future election, to support those only, of whose steady attachment to the constitutional rights and commercial interests of this country, we have or shall receive the most solemn assurances.

Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with the other Volunteer corps of this kingdom, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of our grievances.

Resolved unanimously, That as we do approve the sending Delegates to the meeting in Cork, as advertised by the Muskerry True Blues, &c. we appoint Colonel Mannix, and Captain Dring, for that purpose.

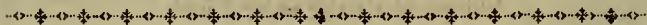
Resolved unanimously, That these our resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Cork Newspapers.

Signed by order,

HENRY MANNIX, Colonel.

The Chairman having quitted the Chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this society be returned to Colonel Mannix, for his constant attention to the interests of this corps, and his active and spirited conduct as a magistrate in this country.



GRANARD VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Granard Volunteers, on Thursday the 28th Day of March, 1782.

Lieut. ROBERT HOLMES, Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Delegates from the 143 corps, convened at Dungannon on the 15th day of February last, as they seem to breathe nothing but the purest spirit of patriotism, toleration and loyalty, void of all party prejudices, and consequently must be pleasing to all persons endowed with liberal sentiments; we therefore pledge ourselves to each other, and to the Volunteers in general, that we will always be ready, and will cheerfully co-operate in any constitutional measure that may be adopted for the redress of our national grievances.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to the Ulster Volunteers, who so nobly stepped forth, and so spiritedly asserted their country's rights, and that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Captain James Dawson, their Secretary.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to the right hon. the Earl of Granard, our Colonel, for the great attention he has always shewn to our corps.

Resolved, That our thanks be given to Lieut. Robert Holmes, for the propriety of his conduct this day in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed three times in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

ANDREW AUNG. McCALLY, Sec.

By Order of the Committee

LAGAN

LAGAN VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Lagan Volunteers, March 28, 1782.

Lieut. Col. WALKER in the Chair.

The Dungannon resolutions of the 15th of February last being read, and severally proposed :

RESOLVED unanimously, That we agree to the resolutions in the whole, and in every part, and that we hereby become a part of the Ulster association.

Resolved unanimously, That we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, to persevere in every constitutional means of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in the Dungannon resolutions, and until the independence of Ireland, under the King of Great Britain, be firmly established, and unequivocally explained.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be signed by our Chairman, and transmitted to the Secretary of the Ulster committee, and published in the Londonderry Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

Lieutenat Colonel Walker having left the Chair, and Lieut. Brown taken it ;

Resolved, That the thanks of the company be given to our Chairman, for his polite and proper conduct in the chair, and also for his unremitting attention to the company on every occasion.



WESTPORT VOLUNTEERS.

At a General Meeting of the Westport Volunteers, at Westport, on Friday the 29th of March, 1782.

EDMOND JORDAN, Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the whole and every part of the resolutions entered into by the Connaught meeting at Ballinasloe, on Friday the 15th instant, as calculated to promote the just rights of Ireland, and animated with a spirit becoming men determined to be free.

That

That we most heartily approve the conduct of our worthy Delegate on that important occasion, and now return him our warmest thanks accordingly.

That the ports of this kingdom are, by right, open to all foreign countries not at war with the king. That we consider this right as the gift of heaven alone. That our honest industry shall be exerted in availing ourselves of it, by all and every means in our power; and that we will support it at the utmost hazard of our lives.

That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Connaught Advertiser.

EDMOND JORDAN, Chairman.



C O U N T Y of C O R K.

BLACKWATER VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Blackwater Volunteers, held the 29th of March, 1782.

RICHARD ALDWORTH, Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we as Volunteers, and independents, cheerfully concur in the spirited and virtuous resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, as they breathe the genuine spirit of liberty, loyalty, and toleration, and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to all the other armed associations who have, and shall approve the said resolutions, that we will heartily co-operate with them, in every constitutional measure, until the grievances so justly complained of be done away.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of these our resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates, and that they be published in the Dublin and Cork Evening Posts.

RICHARD ALDWORTH.

The Chairman having left the Chair ;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy Colonel, for his truly patriotic and upright conduct in the chair.

Lient. Col. STANNARD.

KILMORE LIGHT INFANTRY.

At a Meeting of the Kilmore Light Infantry, March 29, 1782.

MATT FORDE, Jun. Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of, and heartily accede to, the spirited, yet moderate resolutions entered into at Dungannon, by the Ulster Volunteers, and that we thankfully accept of their invitation to become members of so respectable a body.

MATT FORDE, Jun.

COUNTY OF LONDONDERRY.

We, the High Sheriffs and Grand Jury of the City and County of Londonderry, assembled at an Assizes held the 29th Day of March, 1782, in the Town-hall of the City of Londonderry,

THINKING it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments, respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation, and desirous, by a seasonable explanation, to terminate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do declare, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom to be governed by such laws, only, as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive their authority from said parliament; pledging ourselves to our country, and to each other, to support, with our lives and fortunes, this our solemn declaration: and further, we bind ourselves that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights, 'till such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged, and firmly established, by the authority of parliament.

Michael Ross, }
Will. Lenox, } Sheriffs
Edw. Cary, Foreman
James Alexander,
John Richardson,

James Scott,
Rich. Charleton,
Thos. Bateson.
Alexander Lecky,
John Ferguson,
Clotworthy

Clotworthy Rowley,
Richard Lloyd,
Alexander Stewart,
William Lecky,
George Ash,
Robert Alexander,
Paul Canning,
Hugh Lyle.

David Ross,
George Lenox,
William McClinton,
William Ross,
Conolly McCauland,
Dominick McCauland,
James Patterson.



*At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Gentlemen Clergy,
and Freeholders of the City and County of Londonderry, as-
sembled pursuant to public Notice at Londonderry the 29th Day
of March, 1782.*

MICH. ROSS, and WM. LENOX, High Sheriffs, in the
Chair,

The foregoing declaration being read,

Resolved unanimously, That the said declaration merits our warmest approbation, as being spirited, moderate, and speaking the language of freemen.

Resolved, That copies of the said declaration shall be immediately transmitted to the several parishes in this county, for the approbation of the freeholders and inhabitants thereof.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the representatives of this county for their declaration, "*That they will support the rights of Ireland.*"

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy High Sheriffs, for their ready compliance in convening the county, and for their polite and impartial conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the foregoing declaration and resolutions be published in the Londonderry Journal, Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order of said meeting,

MICH. ROSS, }
WM. LENOX, } Sheriffs.

MITCHEL-

MITCHELSTOWN INDEPENDENT LIGHT DRAGOONS.

At a Meeting of the Mitchelstown Independent Light Dragoons, held at Mitchelstown, the 29th of March, 1782.

LORD KINGSBOROUGH, Colonel, in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That Lord Kingsborough, our colonel, Henry Cole Bowen, Esq; our lieutenant-colonel, and James B. Thornhill, Esq; our major, be appointed Delegates from this corps, to attend the meeting of Delegates of the county and city corps, at Cork, on the 7th of April.

Resolved, That it is our instructions to our Delegates above mentioned, to signify at that meeting, our most hearty concurrence in any resolutions of a similar spirit to those adopted by the two provincial meetings of Dungannon and Balinasloe.

KINGSBOROUGH, Colonel.



ARRAN PHALANX MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Arran Phalanx, the 30th of March, 1782.

The Earl of ARRAN in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of the resolutions entered into at Dungannon on the 15th day of February last, by the Ulster Volunteers, as they breathe the spirit of citizens and soldiers determined to assert their constitutional rights, and diffuse the liberal sentiments of toleration, so essentially necessary in a free country.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That these resolutions be transmitted to Captain Dawson, Secretary to the Ulster Delegates, and published in the Dublin Evening Post, Freeman's Journal and Wexford Journal.

Signed by order,

G. HORAN, Secretary.

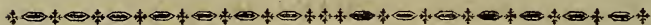
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MARCH 31 1782
G. HORAN, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Loyal Newberry Musqueteers, March 30, 1782, it was resolved,

THAT we highly applaud the liberal, tolerating spirit and constitutional zeal, with which the Ulster Volunteers have stood forth, in behalf of the rights, freedom and trade of this kingdom; being convinced, the ascertaining those points, at this critical period, will be the most firm and permanent foundation of cheerful unanimity and future happiness between this nation and Great Britain. We will, therefore, most heartily co-operate in every legal and constitutional mode for establishing the rights of this nation, and forming the most honourable and perfect union with our sister kingdom.

Resolved, That being attached to our gracious sovereign by the most unshaken loyalty, we will, at the utmost hazard of all we hold dear to us, support his crown, person and dignity.

Resolved, That we feel the utmost satisfaction at the relaxation of the severe laws against our Roman Catholic brethren, whose good conduct and behaviour for several years have eradicated old prejudices, and from which we expect the happiest consequences and most perfect union among the people of this country.



At Lent Assizes, March 30, 1782.

WE the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Carlow, assembled, think the duty we owe to our country and ourselves, calls upon us to declare unanimously,

That the members of the House of Commons, are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that to act contrary to the sense of their constituents would be to deny this position.

That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

That we do expect such declaration of right from our representatives in parliament, and that we will not support at any ensuing election any Candidate, who when in parliament, will not use his utmost endeavours to obtain it.

Ordered, That these our resolutions be published six times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Carlow Journal.

RICHARD MERCER, Sheriff.

ROBERT POWER, Foreman.

At a Meeting of the Corps of Tallow Rangers (Light Dragons)
March 30, 1782.

Captain WHELAN in the Chair.

The following resolutions were all unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we do highly and warmly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon the 15th day of February last.

Resolved, That as citizens, and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved, That we will at the ensuing election, in either county, city, or borough, support those, and those only, who have hitherto supported, or who we are convinced will support the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be presented to the virtuous minority of both houses of parliament, for their noble, though hitherto ineffectual, efforts in favour of the rights and constitution of Ireland.

Resolved, That the following address be presented by our Captain, to Beauchamp Bagenal, Esq; our worthy representative in parliament.

S I R,

WE the corps of Tallow Rangers, beg you will accept of our sincere thanks for your conduct in parliament; assuring you that it meets our wishes, and merits our highest approbation. We hope that, although the exertions of gentlemen, who, animated by the same sentiments that directed you, have struggled hard for a declaration of the constitutional and commercial rights of this kingdom, have hitherto been unsuccessful; yet, truth will, at last, prevail, and we shall establish, on firm grounds, that liberty to which, by nature and by law, we are entitled.

Resolved, That Captain Whelan be appointed our Delegate, to attend at the county meeting to-morrow at Carlow.

Resolved, That a copy of the two first resolutions be transmitted to James Dawson, Esq; Secretary to the Ulster Volunteers.

R

Captain

Captain Whelan having left the Chair,
Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be presented to
Thomas Whelan, Esq; our worthy Captain, for his great at-
tention to this corps since its first establishment.

Resolved, That there be a general meeting of this corps on Tuesday the 16th day of April, to dine together at the house of Mr. Richard Magill in Tullow, in commemoration of the day, and that the distant members of the corps be requested to attend.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions and address, be published in the *Carlow Journal*, and *Dublin Evening Post*.

Signed by order of the corps,

ROBERT ROBINSON, Secretary.



To the Tullow Rangers.

Gentlemen,

IT will always give me the greatest satisfaction, whenever I am so fortunate as to meet the approbation of so respectable and spirited a body of the inhabitants of the county of Carlow; it has always been my intention to deserve the approbation of the friends of Ireland, and perhaps if I had not sometimes given a vote with a deserving administration, which my constituents never disapproved of, and which I can vindicate to the world, I could never have any merit in uniformly opposing those under whom we receive no benefit.

I will only beg leave to observe, that the late change of English ministers, amongst whom we have some infatuated enemies, makes this the most critical period that Ireland ever saw. It is absolutely necessary for us to be unanimous.

To Be—or not to Be, is now the Question.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your faithful and obliged

Humble fervant,

B. BAGENAL.

KILDARE.

Dawson, Secretary to the Ulster Volunteers, and that they be published in the Cork News-papers, and Dublin Evening Post.

JAMES PURCELL.

SPRING ASSIZES, 1782.

At a full Meeting of the Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Galway, assembled pursuant to public Notice from the High Sheriff, at the County-hall, in Galway, March 31, 1782.

The following resolutions were unanimously entered into :

JOHN KELLY, of Castlekelly, Esq; in the Chair.

(The High Sheriff being indisposed,)

RESOLVED, That a seat in parliament was never intended by our constitution as an instrument of emolument to individuals ; and that the representative who perverts it to such a purpose (particularly at so momentous a period as the present) is guilty of betraying the trust reposed in him by the people, for *their*, not *his* benefit,

Resolved, That the people who could tamely behold their suffrages made the tool of private avarice or ambition, are still more criminal than the venal representatives, as they become the pandors without even the wages of prostitution.

Resolved, That when we daily see the mandate of the Minister supercede all conviction in debate ; when placed and pensioned members of parliament notoriously support in public, measures which they condemn in private ; when the hirelings of corruption avow, and Government have exemplified in recent instances of distinguished public characters, that to vote according to conscience, amounts to a disqualification to hold any office in the service of our country, it is time for the people to look to themselves, and in great national questions to assert their right to controul those who owe their political existence to *their* breath, and may be annihilated by *their* displeasure.

Resolved, That, at an æra when every thing that can be dear to a nation is at stake, we are called upon by our duty to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, to stand forth, and by the most unremitting exertions stem the returning torrent
of

of corruption at home, and resist usurpation from abroad, that all mankind may see we are determined to preserve the purity, while we vindicate the rights of our legislature.

Resolved therefore, That we do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, by every tie of honour and religion which can be binding to man, that, as the sacred duty which we owe to the community supercedes all ties and obligations to individuals, we will not suffer private friendship or private virtues, to ward our settled determination not to vote for any man, at a future election, either for county, town, or borough, who shall act in opposition to our instructions, and who will not subscribe a test to obey them previous to the election, or who shall absent himself when those questions on which we instruct him, are agitated in parliament.

Resolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will resist the execution of any other laws with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That if *force constitutes right*, the people of this country have a right to *use force* against the man who *dares* to maintain doctrines subversive of their constitution; but as the object is beneath the dignity of the national resentment, we shall only bid such a man beware how he hereafter trifles with the rights of his country, and provoke the vengeance of a people determined to be *free*.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the resolutions of the Volunteer Delegates, assembled at Dungannon and at Balinasloe.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county be returned to the minority in parliament, and particularly to our countrymen Anthony Daly, Sir Henry Lynch Blosse, and Robert Dillon, Esqrs.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county be returned to John Kelly, Esq; our worthy Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county be returned to our High Sheriff, for his readiness in convening this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county be returned to Counsellor Geoghegan for his conduct at this meeting, and for framing these resolutions, and the following addresses.

Resolved, That the following addresses be presented to the right hon. Denis Daly, and W. P. Keating Trench, Esqrs. representatives in parliament for this county.

To Denis Daly, Esq.

S I R,

THERE is a moment in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals, which if seized and happily improved, may lead to prosperity, if neglected, may terminate in the rivetting of its oppressions. Such a moment is the present: the eyes of Europe are upon us, and posterity will read our conduct with applause or execration, according to the use we make of the opportunities, which a providential combination of events has afforded us. When the rights of a nation become objects of public question or discussion, not to assert is to relinquish, to hesitate is to betray. The die is cast; if we advance with a manly and determined step, we ensure success; if we recede or divide, we sink for ever; in so awful an hour, who is the man that however unwilling to provoke the question, will not at the day of trial be found in his post. Your private opinion, Sir, must give way to the national voice; the assemblage of qualities which formed and elevated your character, raised you to one of the most exalted situations a subject could arrive at. Your abilities remain, we have relied on your integrity; yet, we cannot but lament, that at the moment we stood in need of all the influence of such a character, its brightness should have been shaded, and its weight lost to the nation, by being placed in a station in which, however chaste, it may at least be suspected. But waving at present the consideration of this subject, we now call upon you, as one of our representatives, as you value our future approbation and support, to give your fullest assistance to the following measures, whenever they shall be proposed in parliament, viz. *A declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the assumed power of the Privy Council to stop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; a bill rendering the Judges independent of the Crown; and a bill to reduce the expences of the nation to a level with its revenues;* as we cannot conceive a conduct more insane, than for a people scarce emerging from ruin, like a profligate heir, to anticipate its funds, and ground certain extravagance on uncertain prosperity.

To W. P. Keating Trench, Esq.

S I R,

THE present period calls upon every man in this country to take an active and decided part in the common cause. The nation is not now to be trifled with. Upon our conduct at this eventful hour, depends the establishment of our constitution, and the liberties of unborn generations. We shall not, Sir, suffer our attention to be drawn from the great objects in which we are engaged by a retrospect into your past parliamentary conduct, however dissonant in many points from our opinions; but we call upon you, if you value our future approbation, to give your fullest support to the following measures whenever they shall be agitated in parliament, viz.

A declaration of our national rights.

An ademption of the power of the Privy Council to stop or alter bills.

A mutiny bill limited in its duration.

A bill to render the Judges independent of the Crown,

And a bill to reduce the national expences to a level with its revenues.

Signed by our Chairman, the Grand Jury, and all the freeholders present, and ordered to be engrossed, and copies left at the principal towns of the county to be signed.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Connaught Journal.



COUNTY of the CITY of WATERFORD.

We the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Waterford, at Spring Assizes, 1782, assembled, think the Duty we owe to our Country and Ourselves, calls upon us at this time to declare,

THAT the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people; and that a denial of this position, by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that every attempt, by any other body of men, to exercise this right, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

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That we do expect such declaration of right from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them with our lives and fortunes in whatsoever measures may be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security.

That the powers exercised by the Privy Councils of both kingdoms, under, or under colour of pretence of the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

That the ports of this country are, by right, open to all foreign countries not at war with the King, and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

That a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

That the independence of Judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England; and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional, and a grievance.

That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of those grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freemen, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported, and will support us therein; and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

Resolved, That the Foreman be requested to have these resolutions inserted in the Dublin Evening Post, the Waterford papers, and Clonmel Gazette. (Signed)

Simon Newport, Foreman.

Js. Henry Reynett,	David Jones,	Edward Phair,
Sim. John Newport,	Henry Tandy,	Richard Drapes,
John Jones,	Herman Zurhurst,	David Wilson,
Henry Bolton,	John Brown,	Hugh Cormack,
Benjamin Morris,	John King, jun.	John Cormack,
William Bell,	Charles Dobbs,	

C O U N T Y of W E X F O R D.

We the High Sheriff, Foreman, and Grand Jury of the County of Wexford, this Day assembled,

THINKING it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation, and desirous, by a seasonable explanation, to terminate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do unanimously declare, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws *only* as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive authority from said parliament, pledging ourselves to our country and to each other, to support with our lives and fortunes this our solemn declaration; and further, we bind ourselves, that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights, until such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged and firmly established.

Resolved unanimously, That these declarations be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Wexford Journal.

HENRY BROWNRIGG, Sheriff.

HEN. THO. HAUGHTON, Foreman and Fellows.

C O U N T Y of L I M E R I C K.

We the Grand Jury of the County of Limerick, at Spring Assizes, 1782, assembled, think the Duty we owe to our Country and ourselves, makes it indispensably necessary for us unanimously to declare,

THAT the members of the House of Commons derive their power solely from, and are the only representatives of, the people, and that a denial of this position, would be to abdicate the representation.

That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that an attempt of any other to usurp such right, is subversive of our constitutional liberties, illegal, and a grievance.

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That

That we do expect our representatives in parliament will exert their most strenuous endeavours to have immediately passed,

Bills explanatory and declaratory of our rights.

A proper modification of Poyning's law.

A real Free Trade. And

A better consideration of the pernicious mutiny bill.

That we hold the right of private opinions in religious matters to be inherent to all mankind, and that we do congratulate our countrymen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, on the late relaxation of the penal laws, satisfied that such a measure must ensure union and harmony among us.

That we do abhor and execrate that presumptuous doctrine, *That power makes right*, and rejoice that the public spirit of our brave Volunteers prevents men, who dare advance such despotic maxims, from carrying them into execution.

And lest it should be suggested, that our proceedings arise from a desire to shake off all communication with Great Britain; we thus publicly declare, That we are convinced there is not a man in this kingdom, who entertains a wish so ruinous to both; but on the contrary, our sincere intention is to remove every object of jealousy from the eyes of either nation, that we may embrace our sister with the warmest feelings of affection, and cement so indissoluble a connection between us, as will ensure an equal liberty to both; what we are convinced we are doubly entitled to, as we are ready to *share any equal fate with her*.

We do hereby most solemnly engage ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freemen, men of honour and public spirit, that we will on every ensuing election, support *those only* who have exerted, or will exert themselves, to put *those* our *fixed* resolutions into speedy and effectual execution.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post, and Limerick Papers.

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 John Grady, junior, | 13 John Fitzgerald, |
| 2 Hugh Massey, | 14 Hugh Massey, jun. |
| 3 John Thomas Waller, | 15 Edward Croker, |
| 4 Wm. W. Newenham, | 16 Michael Furnell, |
| 5 William Ryves, | 17 William Fitzgerald, |
| 6 John Croker, | 18 Richard Bourke, |
| 7 Charles Coote, | 19 Darby O'Grady, |
| 8 Ger. Blennerhasset, | 20 Benjamin Friend, |
| 9 William Odell, | 21 James Gubbins, |
| | 10 John |

10 John Tuthill,

22 William Wilson,

11 Thomas Odell,

23 Richard Taylor.

12 James Ellard,



C O U N T Y of C O R K.

Resolutions of the Grand Jury of the County of Cork, Spring Assizes, 1782.

RESOLVED, that we think it necessary to declare, That no power has a right to make laws for this kingdom, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that we shall not consider ourselves to be bound by any other, and that we will, with our lives and fortunes, maintain and defend the Irish parliament in such a declaration of rights, and in any measure that they may think proper to support it.

Resolved, That considering ourselves as a loyal and free people, we shall be ever ready to manifest the principles upon which that opinion is founded, by supporting, in every constitutional manner, the just rights and liberties of the subject, and shewing a warm zeal in loyalty to our King.

Resolved, That we think it essentially necessary to the interest of this kingdom, that the most cordial intercourse, and good understanding between the sister kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, be kept up on our parts, as necessary to the commercial interests of each respectively.

Resolved, That as we conceive all men are entitled to an absolute freedom in their religious opinions, we highly approve of all acts of toleration, as by removing causes of complaint they tend to unite the people, and make them happy.

Resolved, That we highly approve of an increase of salaries to, and the independence of the Judges, as we are satisfied it will strengthen the hands of justice, and give an additional security to the rights of the people.

Resolved, That the power assumed by the Privy Council under colour of Poyning's law, to detain or alter the heads of bills of the Irish parliament, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

1 Richard Townsend, Fore. 13 Augustus Warren,

2

14 Rob. Uniacke Fitzgerald,

3 James Bernard,

15 Thomas Hungerford,

4 Richard Longfield,

16 James Purcell,

5 William

Resolved, That the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens and subjects, gives us the highest satisfaction, convinced that it will more strongly cement the bond of union between us.

Resolved, That we are, and ever will be ready to support our Sovereign against his natural enemies, and share the *liberty* and *fate* of our sister kingdom.

Resolved, That the attempt against the tenantry of this kingdom, holding leases for lives, was a most injurious measure, and fraught with many ruinous and dangerous consequences: we, therefore, pledge ourselves, that we will not, on any future election, support the interests of, or vote for any member to serve in parliament, who voted against the tenantry bill.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published three times in the Leinster Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

T. Butler, Forem.	Richard Butler,	Tho. Shearman,
Edmund Butler,	Henry Birch,	Richard Tresham,
John Helfham,	Edward Oldfield,	Val. Coughlan,
James Cooke,	Thomas Bibby,	Henry M'Creary,
Edward Hunt,	Jn. M'Cloughry,	John M'Creary,
John Boyde,	Wm. Robertson,	Richard Empsom.
W. Knareborough,		

Resolved, That the thanks of this Grand Jury be given to our worthy Foreman, Colonel Thomas Butler, for his spirited conduct on this and every occasion.



C O U N T Y of K I L K E N N Y.

At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Kilkenny, at Lent Assizes, 1782.

P R E S E N T,

Js. Kearney, Sheriff,	James Wemys,	Eland Mossom,
H. Blunt, Forem.	Thomas Boyce,	Will. Barton,
George Agar,	Edward Hunt,	Luke Roche,
John Butler,	Patt Walshe,	John Mitchell,
Hon. P. Butler,	Rich. W. D. Cuffe,	Clayton Bayly,
Sir R. St. George,	Benj. Kearney,	Richard Lower,
Bart.	Benj. Morris,	Henry La Rive,
John Flood,	Robert Snow,	Francis Flood.
Gerv. P. Bushe,		

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that it is now necessary, in the fullest manner, to assert the rights of this country:

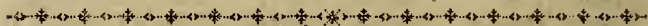
We do declare for ourselves, That we deny the authority of the British parliament to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that we will not obey but resist the execution of any laws so made; and that we are ready to support our parliament, in declaring its exclusive rights, with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved unanimously, That Great Britain and Ireland are and ought to be inseparably connected, by being governed by the same King, and enjoying equal liberty and similar constitutions.

Resolved, That no man ought to be elected to serve in parliament, who will not, previous to his election, pledge himself to exert his utmost endeavours to obtain a redress of the national grievance.

HENRY BLUNT, Foreman and Fellows.

Resolved unanimously, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal.



COUNTY of KILDARE.

LENT ASSIZES, 1782.

AT this critical and momentous period, when our fellow subjects throughout the kingdom have thought it necessary, by public declarations, to assert the independence of their country, we think it incumbent on us, the Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Kildare, to express our determination on the same important subject; and we do therefore unanimously declare, That no power on earth hath right to make laws to bind Ireland, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; professing at the same time, that we hold it to be essentially necessary to the prosperity of both kingdoms, that the imperial crown of Great Britain, and the imperial crown of Ireland, shall be for ever inseparably united. And we are confident, that a repeal of that British statute, which declares a power in the British parliament to make laws of sufficient force to bind Ireland, would remove all grounds of jealousy between the two kingdoms, and would cement that harmony and affection which ought to subsist between them for ever. And we do declare, that we will firmly support, to the utmost

of

of our ability, our representatives in parliament, in every constitutional means of obtaining the desired object of a spirited and unanimous people.

ROBERT POWER, Sheriff.
R. BROOKE, Foreman.



C O U N T Y of M O N A G H A N.

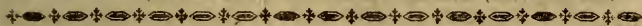
We the High Sheriff, Foreman, and Grand Jury, of the County of Monaghan, this Day assembled,

THINKING it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation, and desirous, by a seasonable explanation, to terminate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do unanimously declare, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive authority from said parliament; pledging ourselves to our country, and to each other, to support, with our lives and fortunes, this our solemn declaration; and further, we bind ourselves, that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights, until such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged and firmly established.

Resolved unanimously, That these declarations be published in Faulkner's Journal, the Evening Post, and Ulster Journal.

THOMAS CORRY, Sheriff.

SAMUEL MADDEN, Foreman and Fellows.



D O N E G A L L M E E T I N G.

WE the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Representatives, Burgesses, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county of Donegall, thinking it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments, respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation, and desirous, by a seasonable explanation, to terminate

terminate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do declare, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain, that it is the constitutional right of this kingdom to be governed by such laws only as are enacted by our parliament, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive authority from parliament; pledging ourselves to our country, and each other, to support with our lives and fortunes this our solemn declaration. And further, we bind ourselves, that we will at all times renew this necessary vindication of our rights, until such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged, and firmly established.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy High Sheriff, for his readiness in convening the county, and for his proper conduct in the chair.

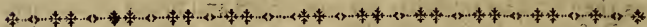
Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy representative, Alexander Montgomery, Esq; for his constant attention to the instructions of his constituents, and his spirited conduct in parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Sir Annesly Stewart, Bart. and Henry Brooke, Esq; for their spirited and upright conduct in parliament.

Resolved, That the Sheriff be requested to publish the above resolutions in the Dublin Evening Post, and Derry Journal.

Signed by order,

RICH. CHARLETON, Sheriff, Chairman.



COUNTY of TIPPERARY.

We, the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary, at Spring Assizes, 1782, assembled, think the duty we owe to our Country and ourselves, calls upon us at this time to declare,

THAT the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that to act contrary to the sense of their constituents, would be to deny this position.

That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

That

That we do expect such a declaration of right from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them with our lives and fortunes, in whatever measures may be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security.

That the power exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the law of Poyning's, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the King, and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

That a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, may be dangerous to the constitution, and is a grievance.

That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, and may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is a grievance.

That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freemen, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

1	13
2 Henry Prittie,	14 Minchin Carden,
3	15 Robert Nicholson,
4	16 Edward Moore,
5	17 John Power,
6 John Bagwell, Marlfield,	18 Samuel Jacob,
7 John Bagwell, Kilmore,	19 Gamahel Fitzgerald Ma-
8 Wray Palliser,	grath,
9	20 William Baker,
10 Daniel Gahan,	21 Samuel Alleyn,
11 Anthony Parker,	22
12 William Perry,	23 John Lap Judkins.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Grand Jury are justly due, and are hereby given to Richard Butler Hamilton Lowe, Esq; for his upright and impartial conduct, as high Sheriff of this county, since his commencement in office.

FRANCIS MATHEW, Foreman

CERTAIN resolutions having been proposed to the consideration of the Grand Jury of the county of Tipperary, at Spring Assizes assembled, which were approved of, and signed by many of the said Jury, and were ordered by them to be printed; and certain other resolutions having been also proposed, which several of the Jury thought more unexceptionable than the above-mentioned, equally firm, but more moderate.

In order therefore to strengthen and confirm the people in the maintenance of their just and undoubted rights, to prove to the world that, although it was not found practicable to obtain unanimity, the difference of opinion was not in the great or essential articles; that in those every man of the Jury was unanimous; that the whole Jury declared with one voice, That the commerce of this kingdom was, and of right ought to be free from every restraint, save only such as were imposed by the parliament of Ireland; that the independence of Judges was a great national point, never to be relinquished; and that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, and no other power upon earth, were competent to make laws for the people of this kingdom. For these reasons, therefore, the gentlemen who dissented from their brethren on the Grand Jury, think it incumbent on them to submit the following resolutions to the public, to which they have affixed their names, and which contain their decided and unalterable sentiments.

Resolved, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people; and that a denial of this position would be to abdicate the representation.

That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that we will oppose every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right, or to impose laws on the people of Ireland.

That we will support, with our lives and fortunes, any measures, which our representatives in parliament may deem expedient to adopt, in order to prevent any such encroachment on our constitution.

That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the King; and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

That

That the independence of Judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England; and we recommend it strenuously to our representatives in parliament, not to lose sight of this great national object, but to use every means in their power for the attainment of it.

These are our decided and unalterable sentiments; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, to use all constitutional means, to carry such our determinations into speedy and effectual execution.

Francis Mathew, R. H. Hutchinson, Wm. Armstrong;
Corn. O'Callaghan, Theob. Butler, James Fogarty.
Rich. Pennefather,



SLIGO MEETING.

*At a Meeting of the Gentlemen Freeholders of the County of Sligo,
convened by the High Sheriff, April 1, 1782.*

GEORGE DODWELL, Esq; High Sheriff, in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1st. **T**HAT the resolutions entered into by the Delegates assembled at Dungannon and Ballinasloe, by the Volunteer associations, and since approved of by the different meetings of several other corps and counties of this kingdom, are such as ought to be adopted by every friend to the liberties and commerce of Ireland.

2d. That we will support, with our lives and fortunes, all the just rights and privileges of this kingdom, and that we will use our utmost endeavours to promote peace, harmony, and good order in this county; and that we will co-operate with all the other counties in this kingdom, in any measures that may tend to the accomplishing so salutary an end.

3d. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the different Delegates from the Volunteer corps of this county, who attended the meeting at Ballinasloe, on the 15th of March last.

4th. That these resolutions, unanimously approved of, be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Sligo Journal.

5th. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the high Sheriff, for his chearful compliance with our request, in convening the county, and for his polite and candid conduct in the chair.

GEORGE DODWELL, Sheriff.

COUNTY of KILKENNY.

IVERK VOLUNTEERS,

Commanded by the Right Hon. *John Ponsonby*, Colonel.

*At a full Meeting of the Iverk Volunteers, at Besborough, on
Easter Monday, 1782.*

Major OSBORNE in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed on, and ordered to be published in the *Waterford Chronicle*, *Leinster Journal*, and *Dublin Evening Post* :

RESOLVED, That we conceive it to be a duty we owe our King, our country, and ourselves, to concur, at this important crisis, with our countrymen, and fellow Volunteers, in such temperate, but firm exertions, as may establish the freedom of this kingdom upon permanent foundations, according to the principles of our most excellent constitution.

Resolved, That we conceive the first step now necessary for this great purpose, to be a solemn, and recorded declaration in parliament, of the legislative rights of this free nation, and that no body of men have any power or authority to make laws to bind this ancient and independent kingdom, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to support, in concurrence with our virtuous countrymen and brother Volunteers, such a parliamentary declaration of our rights, with our lives and properties, and that in every other constitutional measure, that may be found necessary for the further security of our liberties, we are convinced the people of Ireland will display zeal and perseverance, united with loyalty and moderation.

Resolved, That as it is the mutual interest of Great Britain and Ireland always to possess the closest degree of liberal connection, we are persuaded, that, from this motive, as well as from partiality, affinities, and affections, it is the universal and sincere desire of our countrymen, that the two kingdoms, by having the same King, equal liberty, and similar constitutions, should remain inseparably connected for ever.

Resolved, That our thanks are peculiarly due to two members of this corps, our Colonel, the right hon. John Ponsonby,

by, and our Lieutenant-colonel, Richard Cox, Esq; for having given their support in parliament, to the attempts which were made in the present session, to restore the ancient constitution of this realm, by preventing the Privy Council (an assembly not known to that ancient constitution) from *suppressing* or *altering* such bills, or heads of bills, as the deliberative wisdom of an Irish parliament may think proper to be offered to the consideration of the Sovereign of Ireland.

Resolved, That we highly applaud the spirit, and the liberality of sentiment concerning religious toleration, expressed in the resolutions entered into by the Volunteer Delegates at Dungannon and Ballinasloe, and that we most cordially and sincerely join them, and all the other Volunteers of Ireland, in the warmest affection for our countrymen of every religious denomination. Signed by order,

PETER WALSH, Secretary.

After all the above resolutions were agreed on, Major Osborne left the chair; and then the unanimous thanks of the corps were voted to him for his conduct as Chairman; and for his constant zeal and attention to this corps on all occasions. And the unanimous thanks of the corps were then also voted to Mr. Walsh.



At a Meeting of the Castle-Durrow Light Dragoons, pursuant to Adjournment, April 1, 1782, to appoint a Major.

Lieutenant-colonel RIDGE in the Chair.

When John Barrington, of Castlewood, Esq; was unanimously appointed Major, vice Ridge.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we are ready to co-operate with every Volunteer corps in the support of, and obtaining the constitutional rights of our country.

Resolved, That we will not vote for any member to serve in parliament, who will not pledge themselves to support their constituents.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Leinster Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

THOMAS KING, Secretary.

MOUNT-

MOUNTMELICK VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of said Volunteers, at Mountmelick, April 1, 1782.

Lord Viscount CARLOW in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power who have, or ought to have any right to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that we will not obey or give operation to any laws, except those enacted by them.

Resolved unanimously, That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably connected by every tie that can cement an union between two nations, and should enjoy equal liberty and similar constitutions.

Resolved unanimously, That we approve of the patriotic spirit of our brother Volunteers; and that we will co-operate with them, in supporting the constitutional rights of Ireland with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our right hon. Chairman, for his spirited conduct on this occasion.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal.

Signed by order,

JOHN SHAW, Secretary.



CURRAGHMORE RANGERS.

At a full Meeting of said Troop at Newtown, on Monday, April 1, 1782.

Captain SHEE in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That we are ready to assist and co-operate with the several corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, in every constitutional measure for supporting the rights, and promoting the interests and prosperity of Ireland.

Resolved,

Resolved, That union and mutual confidence between all denominations of Irishmen will effectually contribute to render Ireland a free, flourishing, and prosperous nation.

Resolved, That we conceive the interests of Great Britain and Ireland to be inseparable.

Resolved, That we will support our gracious Sovereign, with our lives and fortunes, against any designs or attempts of his natural enemies.

Whereas numbers of Irish manufacturers, particularly in the woollen branch, are in the utmost distress for want of employment ;

Resolved, That it is our wish that the Irish Volunteers should be clothed in the manufactures of their own country only.

Resolved, That we are fully determined not to wear any uniform in future but what is entirely of Irish manufacture.

Resolved, That these resolutions be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle.

Resolved, That the thanks of this troop be given to Captain Shee for his great attention on all occasions, and proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,

JOHN HATCH JENKIN, Sec.



W E S T M E A T H.

*At a Meeting of the Fertullagh Rangers, held at their Parade,
on Monday, April 1, 1782.*

Colonel ROCHFORD HUME in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we will steadily maintain the principles of our original institution, the defence of our country, against foreign enemies, and, the preservation of the internal peace of the kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That the Dungannon resolutions, entered into on the 15th of February last, do so fully express
and

and coincide with our thoughts, on their several subject matters, that it is needless to say more than declare, that they have our entire approbation ; and that they do perfectly comprehend our sentiments, in every respect, and that we will firmly adhere to them.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Dublin Journal, Westmeath Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

JOHN JONES, Secretary.



COUNTY of KILKENNY.

CASTLE-DURROW VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Castle-Durrow Volunteers, held at the Market-house in Durrow, April 1, 1782.

Major FITZPATRICK in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That at this important crisis, when such noble ardour pervades this kingdom, we contemplate with admiration the virtuous efforts of our dear countrymen, to ascertain and establish our commercial and constitutional rights ; we therefore judge it a duty incumbent on us now to declare our sentiments :

Resolved, That no power on earth has a right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statute or laws, except such as are formed by the authority aforesaid.

Resolved, That we do expect a declaration of rights from our representatives in parliament, and we pledge ourselves to them and each other, that we will, in every capacity and situation of life, co-operate with our brother Volunteers in all constitutional efforts to procure a redress of our grievances, and a permanent establishment of the rights of our country.

Resolved, That the ports of this kingdom should be by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the King, and that any restriction laid on, or obstruction thereto, except
by

by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved, The thanks of this meeting to the different corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon the 15th of February, for their patriotic and liberal resolutions.

Resolved, The thanks of this meeting to our worthy Chairman, for his polite and spirited conduct in the chair.

Resolved, The above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal.

Signed by order,

JOHN B. RIDGE, Secretary.

♦♦♦♦♦
 TYRERIL TRUE BLUES.

At a Meeting of the First Tyreril True Blues, held at Colloony, April 1, 1782, pursuant to Notice.

The Rev. JOHN LITTLE in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do, from our hearts, approve of the resolutions entered into by the several Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, at their meeting, held at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

Resolved, That we do also highly approve of the moderate, loyal, and spirited resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the several corps of Connaught Volunteers, held at Ballinasloe, on the 15th of March last, which last-mentioned meeting we had appointed a Delegate, but from an unforeseen accident, the effects of which (though unavoidable) we must still consider as a great misfortune, that said Delegate could not attend the said meeting.

Resolved, That considering ourselves as free citizens, armed in defence of ourselves, the laws and constitution of our country, and disclaiming any jurisdiction whatsoever, but of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, we are firmly determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support every measure which may tend towards a preservation of that independence; and we also declare, that we will, in every capacity, oppose the execution of all such statutes as the (at present to us seemingly) usurped authority of a British parliament has hitherto enacted, or may hereafter attempt to impose on a country, whose great wishes are to be *Free*; at the

same time that we declare, in almost the words of our worthy brethren, the Delegates of the Connaught corps, That the chief wish of our hearts is to clasp our sister nation to our bosom, and cement an indissoluble union between us; attached to her by every tie of affection and interest that can unite nations, surrounded as she is by an host of enemies, we are resolved *to share her liberty, and share her fate.*

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Secretaries of the Ulster and Connaught Volunteers.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Sligo Paper.

JOHN LITTLE, Chairman.

At a respectable Meeting of privates of the Royal Larne Volunteers, April 2, 1782.

Mr. THOMAS MOORE in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the Volunteer army of this kingdom hath been the salvation thereof, by protecting our coasts from foreign invasion, securing domestic tranquility, and (we hope) procuring to us a restoration of our constitutional rights; and that these salutary purposes could not have been effected, unless the several corps of which it is composed, had collected themselves together, for their improvement in military discipline, and declared their sentiments freely on national affairs; for without the former, they could not have been qualified to take the field for real action; and without the latter, they could not have been assured of their unanimity.

Resolved, That means have been used, not only to prevent this corps from joining any neighbouring corps, but even to shackle our minds, by forbidding us to publish our sentiments on public measures! Such ignominious restraint, we deem fitter for the stalls of asses, or beasts of burden, than the ranks of Freemen or Volunteers; and it is with no less astonishment than regret, that in this land of liberty, and at this important crisis, when the spirit of the nation seems roused to a proper sense of its own dignity, that we yet find any individuals capable of tamely submitting to such base restraint: for our parts we are *determined* to be free, and therefore consider

sider ourselves no longer members of the Royal Larne Volunteers.

Resolved, That a new company be formed under the name of the Larne Independents, and that any gentleman of independent principles, shall be eligible to command said corps.

Resolved, That we have seen with heart-felt pleasure, the truly noble resolutions of the Ulster Delegates; and it being our unalterable opinion, that they contain no more than what every real friend to this country should use his utmost efforts to obtain, we, therefore, pledge ourselves to our country, and to one another, that as citizens and Volunteers, we will persevere in our present line of conduct, until these great ends are obtained and secured to us, upon a permanent foundation.

Resolved, That the Chairman do transmit these resolutions to the Secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and that they be published in the Belfast News-Letter.

THOMAS MOORE.



*At a Meeting of the Kinnilea and Kirrikurihy Union, convened
April 2, 1782.*

Colonel ROBERTS in the Chair.

IT was unanimously resolved, That we do most cheerfully accede to the truly virtuous and patriotic resolutions and address of the Ulster Delegates, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, and that we will, to the fullest extent, co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining the most speedy and effectual redress of those grievances, they so judiciously point out.

Resolved unanimously, That we feel the most perfect satisfaction at the relaxation of the severe laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.

Resolved, That the person who, in a free state, advances the abominable doctrine of *power conferring right*, is an enemy to his King and country.

Resolved, That as we approve of the expediency of sending Delegates to the meeting at Cork, as advertised by the Muskerry and other societies, we appoint Lieut. Col. Herrick, and Major Roberts for that purpose.

Resolved, That these our resolutions be transmitted to Capt. Dawson, Secretary to the Ulster Volunteers, and published in the Cork and Dublin Evening Posts.

THOMAS ROBERTS, Col.

The Chairman having left the chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this society be returned to Col. Roberts, for his peculiar propriety of conduct in the chair.



MOYCASHEL.

At a Meeting of the Moycashel Association, at the House of Anthony Miller, in Killbeggan, on Tuesday, April 2, 1782.

The Hon. ROBERT ROCHFORD, Col. in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the power of making laws to bind this country, is vested solely in the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that we will not put any other laws into execution.

Resolved unanimously, That a modification, by a partial repeal of Poyning's law, would be highly beneficial to the constitution of this country.

Resolved unanimously, That making the Judges commission *quam diu se bene gesserint*, would greatly tend to the impartial distribution of justice in this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we will join our brother Volunteers of Ireland, united with the constitutional branches of legislature, in every legal and proper measure, to promote and bring into effect, the spirit of the above resolution.

Resolved unanimously, That the immense sums of money, annually remitted to the absentees of this kingdom, greatly contribute to impoverish the nation.

Resolved unanimously, That the idea of repealing those laws restrictive on the property and religion of the Roman Catholics of this country, are (so far) properly liberal and highly commendable; and, that a removal of these restrictions which prevent their being called to the bar, on taking the oath lately formed for Roman Catholics, would greatly tend to lead them into a line of information, which at present they have no inducement to seek for.

ROBERT ROCHFORD, Chairman.

Colonel

Colonel Rochfort having left the chair :

It was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the hon. Colonel Rochfort, for his great propriety of conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the foregoing resolutions be inserted three times, in the Dublin and Westmeath Journals, and the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

SAM. W. HANDY, Secretary.



BURRASSAKANE VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Burrassakane Volunteers, April 2, 1782.

Major THOMAS STONEY in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we sincerely congratulate our brother Volunteers on the resolutions entered into by the Ulster Delegates, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and that we highly approve of the same, and will co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining a speedy and effectual redress of the grievances so justly complained of throughout the kingdom.

Resolved, That the virtuous efforts of the minority of both houses of parliament claim our warmest thanks, and trust their endeavours will be crowned with success.

Resolved, That our thanks is justly due to Henry Prittie, Esq; our worthy representative, for his steady, upright, and uniform conduct in parliament.

Major Stoney having quit the chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to him for his unwearied attention to us, and convening this meeting.

Signed by order,

JOS. ABBOTT, Secretary.

PORTARLINGTON INFANTRY.

At a Meeting of the Portarlington Infantry, assembled by notice on Tuesday, April 2, 1782.

Major LEGRAND in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That mutual and inseparable interests should unite Great Britain and Ireland. As citizens and Volunteers, we will never lose sight of that grand object. We took up arms to support his Majesty against the enemies of Great Britain and Ireland, to protect ourselves, and to maintain, by every constitutional mode, the freedom and independence of this kingdom, bound only by laws enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and liberties we jointly and severally are determined to support with our lives and properties.

WILLIAM HENRY LEGRAND.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to Major Legrand, for his particular propriety of conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,

JOHN BROWN, Secretary.



QUEEN'S COUNTY, LENT ASSIZES, 1782.

At a Meeting of the Grand Jury of said County, at Maryborough, Tuesday, April 2, 1782.

GEORGE BURDETT, Esq; Foreman, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That the period is now arrived, when it is necessary unequivocally to ascertain the constitutional rights of this kingdom; and that a speedy, determined, and unanimous declaration of the same by the nation in general (conformable to those just and spirited resolutions heretofore entered on the journals of both houses of parliament on that head) will tend to the tranquility of our common empire, and be productive of many salutary consequences.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, being fully and alone competent to enact laws to bind the same, the interference of any other legislature is inconsistent, injurious, and oppressive; and that we will ever resist the execution of any such pretended laws, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That any idea of separation from the imperial crown of Great Britain, is absurd, extravagant, and ruinous; that attached by loyalty and duty to his majesty's person and government, and by affection and interest united to Great Britain, we will stand and fall by her; but, that being bound to share her distresses, we are entitled to a full participation of her liberty; and we hope the candour of her legislature will remove every ideal ground of future jealousy or cavil.

Resolved, That the present well-established internal police of Ireland, and the rank she now holds in the political world, is principally owing to the Volunteer associations; and that they be requested to persevere in a line of conduct so honourable to themselves, and so beneficial to their country.

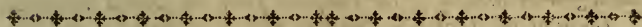
GEORGE BURDETT, Foreman, in the Chair.

Sir Robert Staples, Bart. having taken the Chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, George Burdett, Esq; and that these our resolutions be inserted in the Dublin and Kilkenny Newspapers.

Signed by order,

RICHARD EVANS, Secretary.



STRABANE MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Strabane, on the 3d Day of April, 1782, in order to take into Consideration the present state of public affairs.

JOHN SPROULL, Esq; Provost, in the Chair.

1. **RESOLVED**, That as it is the undoubted right, so we think it the indispensable duty of every man, at this important crisis, publicly and unequivocally to declare his sentiments relative to the rights of Ireland.

2. Resolved, That in common with our countrymen, we warmly approve and admire the temper, and patriotic spirit,
by

by which the Dungannon resolutions are so conspicuously distinguished.

3. Resolved, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional right of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and that we will, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statute, except such as derive authority from said parliament.

4. Resolved, That we will not, at any future election, vote for, or support any man who has opposed a parliamentary declaration of the independent rights of the Irish legislature.

JOHN SPROULL.

At this meeting, the inhabitants of Strabane being unanimous in favour of the above resolutions, and I thinking it my duty, as Chairman, to announce the sentiments of the people then assembled, did subscribe my name; yet, notwithstanding, I disapprove of the 4th resolution, as it may tend to discourage such representatives, as on former occasions have opposed the sense of the nation in parliament, but may in future be able to prove, by their conduct, that they intend to support the interest of Ireland.

JOHN SPROULL.

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*At a general Meeting of the Delegates from the several Volunteer Corps of the Queen's County, viz. 5 of Cavalry and 15 of Infantry, held at Maryborough, April 3, 1782.*

The Viscount CARLOW in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

**R**ESOLVED, That it is now necessary unequivocally to ascertain the constitutional rights of this kingdom; and that a general declaration of our national and natural independence, and the most determined resolutions to support the same, will be productive of many advantages, and preserve tranquility to our common Empire.

Resolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are fully and alone competent to enact laws to bind the same;

same ; and that we will resist the execution of any other pretended laws, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That any idea of separation from the imperial crown of Great Britain, is absurd, extravagant, and ruinous ; that enjoying similar constitutions, we are entitled to equal liberty ; and we hope the prudence of the British legislature will remove every ideal ground of future jealousy and discontent, and that no meer cavil in words may prevent that affectionate and perfect amity and union we ever wish to preserve.

Resolved, That the House of Commons, as representatives of the people, from them derive their sole consequence and existence : That freemen and freeholders, peaceably assembled, have a constitutional right, respectfully to convey their sentiments to any or every branch of the legislature ; and that they are answerable for consequences, who neglect seasonable admonition.

Resolved, That the internal order and peace of this kingdom, and the respectable rank she now holds, is principally owing to the Volunteer associations ; and that we are convinced a conduct so honourable to themselves, and so very serviceable to their country, will most chearfully be persevered in by them.

Resolved, That the warmest acknowledgements of this nation are most deservedly due to the association assembled at Dungannon, for their early, spirited, and liberal declarations on this great and constitutional question ; and that the Chairman do forthwith transmit to their Secretary, Captain Dawson, the thanks of this meeting.

CARLOW, Chairman.

Sir Robert Staples, Bart. having then taken the Chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Viscount Carlow, for his very proper conduct this day in the chair ; and that these our resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal.

ROBERT STAPLES, Chairman.

## UNIVERSITY MEETING.

*At a Meeting of the Electors of the University, convened on Wednesday the 3d of April, by public Notice.*

Mr. WILLIAM BAKER in the Chair.

The following address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented to their representatives :

*To the Right Honourable WALTER BURGH, and JOHN FITZGIBBON, Esq; Representatives in Parliament for the University of Dublin.*

*Gentlemen,*

WHEN the murmurs of a people, struggling for their rights, have been heard even in the quiet retreat of science, we should deem it a breach of duty to our countrymen and ourselves, did we neglect to second their virtuous exertions : we are never forward in political contests ; we shall always be decided and steady ; although we have not been the first to complain of, yet, we have not been the last to feel the repeated injuries this country has suffered, not only from those who may have separate duties and separate interests, but from men who are bound by the strongest duty, and the dearest interest, to vindicate its rights, and cherish its prosperity.

The power of binding Ireland by acts of a foreign legislature, is what nothing but a spirit of arrogance or oppression would insist upon ; nothing but the most abject servility submit to ; for we cannot suppose, that the appearance of a claim which irritates the whole body of the people, would be retained, unless there was an intention of enforcing this claim hereafter ; we are therefore convinced, that an express declaration of rights, is the only measure upon which this country can build its legislative independence, and that a reluctance to assert the constitution of the land, may furnish Great Britain with a pretence for denying the justice of our requisition.

We do not think the present situation of Great Britain to be any objection against such a declaration, as we can never suppose that she could derive strength from our weakness, or any security to her liberties from the oppression of ours ; and *that time* is undoubtedly to be preferred for the assertion of  
our

our rights, when the object is likely to be obtained with the least struggle.

The insecure attachment of Ireland to the crown of England at a former period, furnished a pretext for divesting the houses of parliament of their right to originate bills, unless previously certified into England under the great seal of this kingdom; now, as the loyalty of this country for several centuries past, so often tried, and so often acknowledged, has removed every cause of distrust, we conceive that this injurious and humiliating restriction should also cease.

The dependance of the judges of Ireland on the will of the sovereign, may, in the hands of an aspiring monarch, prove a powerful instrument of oppression; now, holding ourselves entitled to every constitutional security which our sister kingdom possesses, we consider it necessary that the judges of this kingdom should be made equally independent with those of Great Britain.

But since every advantage which could result from these reforms must be precarious, as long as a perpetual mutiny bill exists, by which, force may be made to supercede right, and the soldiery of Ireland are subjected to trial and punishment by any future articles of war, which the king and privy council of Great Britain may think proper to adopt; we are persuaded, that every concession must be imperfect, unless accompanied with the repeal of so dangerous a law.

We therefore expect you will exert your most strenuous efforts, to obtain a declaration of the rights of Ireland; a repeal or satisfactory explanation of the law of Poyning's; an act for making the tenure of the judges independent of the crown; and a repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill.

We declare, That these are our fixed and unalterable sentiments, and we are convinced that nothing short of the requisitions herein contained, can be, in any degree, satisfactory to the people of Ireland.

It is our wish to render the connection between this country and Great Britain, as close and permanent as possible, and we are persuaded that this is only to be accomplished by abolishing all usurped authority of the one over the other, and removing every invidious distinction between the constitutions of two countries, equally entitled to be free.

Signed,

WIL. BAKER, Chairman.

To



*To the Electors of the University, convened on Wednesday the  
3d of April, 1782.*

*Gentlemen,*

WHEN I reflect on my past parliamentary conduct, it affords me the highest satisfaction, to find that it entirely corresponds with the tenor of your instructions. Whenever the objects that you recommend have come into discussion, I have given them my uniform and decided support. My conduct has been founded upon principles, which no motives of interest or ambition have been able to shake, and in which I shall persevere unto the last hour of my life.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful,

Humble fervant,

WALTER BURGH.



*To the Electors of Trinity College.*

*Gentlemen,*

I AM just now honoured with your instructions, which have been forwarded to me by post. Be assured, that I shall always feel the utmost satisfaction in receiving the instructions of that very great and respectable body which I have the honour to represent, and that you shall ever find me ready, to the best of my ability, to vindicate your rights.

I have always been of opinion, that the claim of the British parliament to make laws for this country, is a daring usurpation on the rights of a free people, and have uniformly asserted this opinion both in public and in private. When a declaration of the legislative right was moved in the house of commons, I did oppose it, upon a decided conviction that it was a measure of a dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. However, I do, without hesitation, yield my own opinion upon this subject to yours, and will, whenever such a declaration shall be moved, give it my support.

With

With respect to an explanation of the law of Poyning, I confess, the more I consider the subject, the more difficult it appears to me. Allow me to remind you, that the University did, upon a very recent occasion, experience that this law, in its present form, may operate beneficially. A total repeal of it, will I hope, on consideration, appear to you to be not, by any means, a desirable object—You may rest assured, that the best attention which I can give to the subject shall be exerted; and I trust and doubt not, that upon a communication with you upon this topic, I shall be able to give you full satisfaction.

I agree with you most warmly, that any advantage which we may derive from reformation must be precarious, so long as the articles of war shall continue to be a permanent and established branch of municipal law, which they certainly are under the present act for regulating the king's army in Ireland. I have not a doubt in my mind, that a perpetual mutiny law lays the foundation of a military government in this country; upon this principle I did oppose it as strenuously as I could, from the first moment it was introduced into the house of commons, and upon this principle I will, whilst I live, make every effort within my power to procure a repeal of it. The administration of justice in this country is certainly an object of the first importance, and therefore I will, at all times, concur in any measure which can be proposed to make the judges of the land independent and respectable.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

With great respect,

your most obedient, and

Very humble servant,

JOHN FITZGIBBON.

*Mount-Shannon, April 11, 1782.*

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### COUNTY WEXFORD VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Delegates of Nineteen Corps, convened by the Commander in Chief, at the request of their respective corps, at the Bear-Inn, Enniscorthy, April 4, 1782.*

Colonel PHAIRE in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That at a time when there is a want of public spirit in parliament, and when the patriotic  
and

and strenuous efforts made there, have been those of a minority, and of course insufficient to give effect to their own and the nation's sentiments, by a parliamentary declaration of rights, it becomes the people at large, to assert and declare their constitutional rights, on which the happiness of themselves and their posterity so materially depends; and as great objects can only be obtained by unanimity and perseverance, we think it incumbent on us to unite our voices with that of our fellow-citizens and Volunteers, at this critical and important period.

Resolved unanimously, That both interest and inclination prompt us to a firm and indissoluble connection with England; and, in our opinion, nothing can so much contribute to this end, as the settling our constitution on a firm basis, by preventing the revival of those questions which have already fevered from England the most extensive part of her dominions, and involved her in the greatest calamities.

The well-known loyalty of the people of Ireland, and the recent offer of the whole Volunteer army, to enter into the service of government, on the alarm of an invasion, are facts sufficient to refute the calumnies thrown out in England, against the just, necessary and public-spirited measures, which this kingdom at present so laudably pursues.

Resolved unanimously, That we do entirely approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers, entered into at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary of our commander in chief be requested to communicate our approbation of, and accession to the said resolutions, to the Secretary of the Ulster Volunteers.

ROBERT PHAIRE, Chairman.

ROCK-

# ROCKINGHAM VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Rockingham Volunteers, at the Court-house  
of Coollattin, April 4, 1782.*

Major CHAMNEY in the Chair.

**RESOLVED** unanimously, That we highly approve of the principles declared in the resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers assembled at Dungannon, the 15th of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That we will co-operate with the several Volunteer corps of Ireland, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of grievances, and establishing the rights of Ireland.

JOSEPH CHAMNEY, Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our Chairman, Major Chamney, for the propriety of his conduct this day in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post three times.

Signed by order,

JOHN SYMES, Sec.



# ARMAGH MEETING.

*At a numerous Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Armagh,  
convened by public Notice from the High Sheriff of said County,  
on Thursday, April 4, 1782.*

WILL. RICHARDSON, Esq; in the Chair.

The Dungannon resolutions being read,

**RESOLVED** unanimously, That the said resolutions be adopted as the resolutions of this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be signed by the Chairman, and presented to our worthy representatives :

*To the Right Hon. William Brownlow and Tho. Dawson, Esq.*

WE approve of your past, and look up with unbounded confidence to your future conduct. The Dungannon resolutions



tions are, by adoption, ours ; support them, it will be honourable to you, justice to us, and essential to the freedom and prosperity of Ireland.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

William Richardson, Esq; having left the chair, and Thomas Townly Dawson, Esq; taken it;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to William Richardson, Esq; for his proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Francis Dobbs, Esq; and that we highly approve of his patriotic zeal and spirited conduct at this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions and address, together with the answer of our representatives be published in the Dublin Evening Post, the Belfast News-Letter, and the Newry Chronicle.

THO. TOWNLY DAWSON.

*To the Freeholders of the County of Armagh.*

*Gentlemen,*

I AM happy in your approbation, as it adds strength to our efforts for the public service. Your sentiments were well known to me, and I have anticipated your commands. The united voice of the people coincides with yours, and calls loudly from all parts of the kingdom, for a vindication of their constitutional rights. Such union and firmness must prevail, and the happy æra cannot be remote. I consider the resolutions of Dungannon as the cement of that union, and I applaud them. Your confidence in me is not misplaced—I never will betray you.

Yours, faithfully,

W. BROWNLOW.

*At a Meeting of the Cumber Battalion, April 4, 1782.*

Colonel DAVID ROSS in the Chair.

1st. RESOLVED unanimously, That an equal distribution of justice is both the glory and strength of every empire.

2d. Resolved.



Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Colonel Toler, our worthy Chairman, for his zeal in support of the public good, and his upright conduct as Chairman.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Clonmel Gazette.

Signed by order,

WM. GREENSHIELDS, Lieut. and Sec.



*At a full Meeting of the First and Independent Killinchy Volunteer Company, April 6, 1782.*

Captain GAWIN HAMILTON in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the spirited, manly, and moderate resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers met at Dungannon, have our warmest approbation, and that we do most cheerfully accede to them; with pleasure we accept of their invitation, and think ourselves honoured by being admitted members of so respectable a body.



*At a Time when Resolutions and Addresses of the most serious Consequences are daily multiplying from all Quarters of the Kingdom, where either Volunteer Corps, or other spirited Friends to the true Interests of Ireland exist, the Lemnady Battalion, consisting chiefly of Freeholders in this County (Londonderry) on Parade assembled, April 6, 1782,*

Came to the following resolutions:

**T**HAT it is our opinion, that the right hon. Edward Cary, is entitled to the warmest returns of gratitude from every friend to this country, whether we consider him as a Volunteer, for his generous treatment to Volunteers, or, as a representative of this county, for his parliamentary conduct, a conduct, we hereby declare we will, to our utmost, support on every future occasion.

An entire change of men and measures having taken place in our sister kingdom, the county of Derry representatives will, we trust, stand foremost on the list of friends to Ireland, as we will, on every such occasion, give them public testimonies of our gratitude and affection.

That

That the warmest thanks of this battalion be returned to General Cary, and the inhabitants of Dungiven, for their hospitality on Friday the 5th inst. to the officers and privates of these corps.

That these resolutions be published.

Signed by order,

RICH. GRAY, Adj. Gen.



## CLARE MEETING.

*At a general Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Clare, convened by the High Sheriff at Ennis, April 6, 1782, pursuant to public Notice,*

POOLE HICKMAN, Esq; High Sheriff, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

**R**ESOLVED, That it appears to us to be absolutely necessary to declare, That no power on earth has any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, That it is at this time absolutely necessary, that the Irish parliament should enact a law declaratory of their sole and exclusive right to make laws to bind Ireland.

Resolved, That the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms under, or under colour of the law of Poyn- ing's, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, That we are determined to render the English claim of legislation in Ireland ineffectual, by every constitutional resistance.

Resolved, That a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved, That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries, not at war with our Sovereign, and that any restriction on our trade, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, is illegal, unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved,



Resolved, That the independence of Judges is essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, and that the refusal or delay of this right, may excite jealousy and discontent, and is a grievance.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to those wise and virtuous men, who so firmly demanded, and so strenuously contended for declarations of our rights, and redress of our grievances.

Resolved, That to postpone or delay such declarations of our rights, and compleat and satisfactory redress of our grievances, is in effect to deny the rights, and to deny them, is basely to betray them.

Resolved, That it is our unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election for our county, support those only, who will support us therein; and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress, speedy and effectual.

Resolved, That our representatives in parliament, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart. and Edward Fitzgerald, Esq; have fulfilled the trust reposed in them, and deserve the warmest approbation of their conduct, which is peculiarly praise-worthy and disinterested, at a time when venality and corruption influence so many members of parliament, and constitutes the ministerial system of government in this country.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy High Sheriff, for his ready compliance with the request made to him for convening the county, and for his impartial conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and in the Clare and Munster Journal.

POOLE HICKMAN, High Sheriff, and Chairman.



# CITY of CORK.

*Council Chamber, April 6, 1782.*

WE, the Grand Jury of the county of the city of Cork, at Spring assizes assembled, firmly convinced, that an explicit and timely avowal of the decided sentiments of the Irish nation, will be the most effectual means of preventing all future jealousy between us and our sister kingdom, and, that it will  
best

best tend to cement that union of hearts and sentiments between the subjects of the two countries, so devoutly to be wished for by every friend to either, and so indispensably necessary to the real happiness and prosperity of both, have thought it necessary to make the following solemn and unanimous declarations, to which we have affixed our names, and by which we will abide :

That the people of Ireland are a *Free People*, firmly attached by every tie of interest and of duty, to the maintenance of their constitutional rights, zealously loyal to the King, and sincerely affectionate to their British fellow subjects.

That it is the undoubted privilege, and unalienable right of a free people to make laws for themselves, and to be bound by no laws but only such, to which, by their representatives in parliament, they have given consent.

That the exercise of the power of legislation by any foreign legislature, is degrading to the country over which such power is exerted, subversive of its liberties, calculated to break down the spirit of its people, and sufficient to reduce a great kingdom to the contemptible situation of a tributary province.

That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the legislature thereof, competent solely, and in exclusion of every other power upon earth, to make laws to bind this kingdom; and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right, is unconstitutional, and ought to be resisted.

That the claim of the British parliament to bind this kingdom by laws, is a claim disgraceful and unproductive; disgraceful to us, because it is an infringement of our constitution; unproductive to Great Britain, because the exercise of it will not be submitted to by the people of Ireland.

That the members of the house of commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people. That it is their indispensable duty to redress the grievances, and to gratify the wishes of the people. That in this firm persuasion, we do expect from them a declaration of right; we recommend this great object to them as the humble, but earnest request of an unanimous nation, whose liberty they are delegated to protect, and at whose tribunal they are accountable for their conduct; and we pledge ourselves to them, and to each other, to support with our lives and fortunes, any measures which they may deem expedient to adopt in support of these our undoubted rights.

That

That the independence of Judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in this kingdom as in Great Britain ; that it is a national object of the first importance, and of which we recommend it strenuously to our representatives in parliament, never to lose sight ; and that we look up with peculiar confidence for the attainment of this valuable acquisition to the same Irish Ministers, to whose faithful representations and successful efforts we are indebted, for that other bulwark of our constitution and liberties, the habeas corpus act.

That, as the Grand Jury of this city were among the foremost in expressions of gratitude for the commercial favours conferred upon the people of Ireland, by the liberal hand of their sister kingdom, so should they consider themselves wanting in that duty which they owe to their fellow-citizens and their country, if they failed to assert their commercial rights, if they did not declare that the ports of this kingdom are of right open to all foreign countries not at war with the King ; and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

That a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration, from session to session, may be dangerous to the constitution, and is a grievance.

That we cannot sufficiently applaud the liberal spirit which has dictated to our representatives in parliament the emancipation of their Roman Catholic brethren, from persecution in a land of liberty, and from vassalage in the bosom of their country, which has restored them to their common rights, and has confirmed to the state the loyalty and the affections of a great majority of its people ; those affections which injuries could not eradicate, and that loyalty, which the oppression of a century was insufficient to extinguish.

That we contemplate with pleasure the happy consequences of this enlarged policy ; that mutual confidence has taken root amongst us, and that the public strength has risen in proportion ; that Ireland is united, and that therefore she must be *Free*.

R. H. Hutchinson, Foreman.

|                  |                   |                     |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Aylmer Allen,    | John Travers,     | Kevan Izod,         |
| John Pedder,     | Wm. Jameson Wm.   | Henry Wrixon,       |
| Richard Perry,   | John Lindsay,     | Ben. Bousfield,     |
| E. Jameson,      | Joseph Witherall, | M. R. Westropp,     |
| Thomas Waggett,  | Samuel Mayler,    | Charles Denroch,    |
| John Shaw,       | Hugh Lawton,      | Christopher Lawton, |
| William Cormack, | John Harding,     | James Kingston.     |
| Phil. Allen,     |                   |                     |



## ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

*By the Subscribing Members of the Committee.*

*To the Electors of Members of Parliament, in the Province of  
Ulster.*

*Gentlemen,*

**D**ELEGATED by the Volunteers assembled at Dungannon, we call on you to support the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland; to exert the important privileges of freemen at the ensuing election, and to proclaim to the world that you at least deserve to be *Free*.

Regard not the threats of landlords or their agents, when they require you to fail in your duty to God, to your country, to yourselves, to your posterity. The first privilege of a man is the right of judging for himself, and now is the time for you to exert that right. It is a time pregnant with circumstances, which revolving ages may not again so favourably combine. The spirit of liberty is gone abroad, it is embraced by the people at large, and every day brings with it an accession of strength. The timid have laid aside their fears, and the virtuous sons of Ireland stand secure in their numbers. Undue influence is now as despised as it has ever been contemptible; and he who would dare to punish an elector for exerting the rights of a freeman, would meet what he would merit, public detestation and abhorrence.

Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of the exertions of each part; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, because he has not more in his power, and will not exert his utmost efforts for the emancipation of his country, because they can, at best, be the efforts of but one man, stands accountable to his God and to his country, to himself and to his posterity, for confirming and entailing slavery on the land which gave him birth.

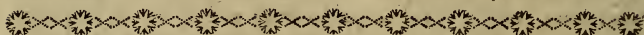
An upright House of Commons is all that is wanting, and it is in the power of the electors to obtain it. Vote only for men whose past conduct in parliament you and the nation approve, and for such others as will solemnly pledge themselves to support the measures which you and the nation approve. Do your duty to your country, and let no consideration



tion tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie, the greater duty to a less.

We entreat you, in the name of the great and respectable body we represent; we implore you, by every social and honourable tie; we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as Irishmen, to raise this long insulted kingdom, and restore to her her lost rights. One great and united effort will place us among the first nations of the earth, and those who shall have the glory of contributing to that event, will be for ever recorded as the Saviours of their country. *April 6, 1782.*

|                  |                  |                 |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Wm. Irvine,      | Alex. Stewart,   | James Dawson,   |
| Rob. M'Clintock, | Fran. Dobbs,     | James Atchison, |
| John Ferguson,   | Jas. M'Clintock, | Tho. Dickson,   |
| C. P. Leslie,    | John Harvey,     | David Bell,     |
| Fran. Lucas,     | Rob. Campbell,   | John Corelson,  |
| T. M. Jones,     | Jos. Pollock,    | Rob. Brack,     |
| And. Thompson,   | W. Cunningham,   | Wm. Crawford,   |
| Charles Nisbitt, | Fran. Evans,     | Rob. Thomson.   |



## MUNSTER VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Delegates from the following Volunteer Corps of the County and City of Cork, holden at the County Court-house of Cork, on Sunday the 7th Day of April, 1782.*

The Right Hon. Lord KINGSBOROUGH in the Chair.

- |                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Kanturk Volunteers.</i>      | 5. <i>Boyne Society.</i>            |
| James Purcell, Esq.                | John Bagwell, Esq; Colonel,         |
| 2. <i>Muskerry Volunteers.</i>     | John Bais, Esq; Major,              |
| Tho. Barter, Esq; Capt. Com-       | Tho. Chatterton, Esq; Capt.         |
| mandant.                           | Lieut. 1st company.                 |
| 3. <i>Cork Union.</i>              | 6. <i>Culloden Volunteers.</i>      |
| Henry Hickman, Esq; Capt.          | Benjamin Bousfield, Esq; Col.       |
| Commandant,                        | Henry Newsom, Esq; Capt.            |
| Richard Moore, Esq;                | Lieut. 1st company,                 |
| John Egan, Esq;                    | Sampson Jervais, Esq; Capt.         |
| Richard Fitton, Esq;               | grenadiers,                         |
| Benjamin Swayne, Esq;              | Isaac Jones, Esq; Capt. battal.     |
| 4. <i>Inchegeelagh Volunteers.</i> | 7. <i>Mallow Independent Volun-</i> |
| Jasper Masters, Esq; Capt.         | teers.                              |
| Commandant,                        | Jir J. Conway Colthurst, Bart.      |
| John Boyle, Esq; Lieut.            | Geo. Stawell, Esq; privates.        |
|                                    | 8. <i>Black-</i>                    |

8. *Blackpool Association.* Wm. Allen, Esq; Major.  
 John Harding, Esq; Colonel, 20. *True Blue Legion.*  
 Tho. Barry, Esq; Lieut. Col. The right hon. the Earl of  
 Bradshaw Popham, Esq; Lieut. Shannon, Colonel,  
 Cavalry. Jas. Morrison, Esq; Lt. Col.  
 9. *Bandon Independent Company.* Mich. Westropp, Esq; Major.  
 Francis Bernard, Esq; Colonel, 21. *Aughrim Volunteers.*  
 Robert Sealy, Esq; Captain. Rich. Longfield, Esq; Col.  
 10. *Cork Independent Artillery.* Edw. Jamieson, Esq; Capt.  
 Richard Hare, Esq; Captain, 22. *Imokilly Blues.*  
 Francis Jones, Esq; Lieut. Rob. Uniacke Fitzgerald, Esq;  
 11. *Youghal Independent Rang-* Colonel,  
*gers.* Edw. Hoare, Esq; }  
 Meade Hobson, Esq; Lieut. John Uniacke, Esq; } privates  
 Col. Commandant; 23. *Mitchellstown Independent*  
 John Swayne, Esq; Major. *Dragoons.*  
 12. *Bandon Cavalry.* The right hon. Lord Kingf-  
 John Travers, Esq; Major, borough, Col.  
 Augustus Warren, Esq; priv. Henry Cole Bowen, Esq; Lt.  
 13. *Glanmire Union.* Col.  
 Henry Mannix, Esq; Colonel, James Badham Thornhill,  
 Simon Dring, Esq; Capt. Esq; Major.  
 14. *Charleville Volunteers.* 24. *Blarney Volunteers.*  
 Chris. Sanders, Esq; Lieut. Daniel Gibbs, Esq; Lt. Col.  
 15. *Imokilly Horse.* Edw. O'Donnoghue, Esq;  
 Edw. Roche, Esq; Colonel, Capt.  
 Rob. McCarty, Esq; Lieut. Col. 25. *Kinnalea and Kirrikurihy*  
 Bartho. Hoare, Esq; private. *Union.*  
 16. *Mallow Boyne.* Tho. Herrick, Esq; Lt. Col.  
 Rogerf. Cotter, Esq; Captain John Roberts, Esq; Major.  
 Cavalry, 26. *Cork Cavalry.*  
 Wm. Gallwey, Esq; Captain Abraham Morris, Esq; High  
 Infantry. Sheriff of the county of  
 17. *Muskerry True Blue Light* Cork,  
*Dragoons.* John Gillman, Esq; Major,  
 Robert Warren, Esq; Col. John Smith. Esq; Capt.  
 Rob. Hutchinson, Esq; Lt. Col. 27. *Inniskillen Volunteers.*  
 Sam. Swete, Esq; Major. Joshua Connor, Esq; Major.  
 18. *Blackwater Volunteers.* 28. *Carbery Independent Com-*  
 Rich. Aldworth, Esq; Col. *pany.*  
 Rob. Stannard, Esq; Lt. Col. John Townsend, Esq; Captain  
 19. *Newmarket Rangers.* Commandant.  
 Boyle Aldworth, Esq; Col.



I have ever been desirous to support the measures, which I knew to be the general sense of the people of this kingdom, and I shall, in every situation of life, endeavour to merit your esteem and confidence, having the honour to be,

Gentlemen,  
With the greatest respect,  
Your most obliged,  
And obedient humble servant,

KINGSBOROUGH.

[illegible]

*To the Delegates of the Volunteer Corps of the County and City  
of Cork, convened in Cork, the 7th inst.*

*Gentlemen,*

I FEEL myself under the greatest obligation to you for  
expressing your public approbation of my conduct in parlia-  
ment.

When I undertook to represent this county, I resolved to make the public good the sole object of my pursuit, to use every endeavour to serve my country; that the mode I have pursued has met with your applause, must give me the greatest satisfaction; that I may continue to deserve it shall be my future unremitted study.

I have the honour to be,  
With the greatest gratitude,  
Gentlemen,

*Cork, April 11,  
1782.*

Your obliged and humble servant,

JAMES BERNARD.

— — — — —

*To the Delegates of the Volunteer Corps of the County and City  
of Cork, convened the 7th inst. in Cork.*

*Gentlemen,*

THE approbation of my parliamentary conduct, with which you have been pleased to honour me, deserves my warmest acknowledgements; calls forth my public thanks.

My endeavours have been always directed by a zeal for the public good, an attention to the voice of the people: to you, as the representatives of so respectable a part thereof, as the Volunteer corps of the county and city of Cork, I look up as the most just distributors of censure and praise: as I have been

been

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been rewarded with the latter, I trust never to forfeit your good opinion, or appear unworthy of the honour you have conferred upon me. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, gratitude, and esteem,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient,

April 11,  
1782.

And most humble servant,

FRANCIS BERNARD.



## NEWPORT VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the County Tipperary Newport Volunteer Corps, on parade, assembled the 7th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to notice.*

Captain WALLER in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we do from our hearts most highly approve of the wise, liberal, and spirited resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and Volunteers, as men firmly attached to the rights of this kingdom, we will steadily co-operate with the several corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining compleat redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That we will, at every future election in this county, support with our free votes, those only whom we find, by their virtuous conduct, best calculated to maintain the just rights and commercial interests of this country.

Resolved unanimously, That our most grateful acknowledgments are due to the wise, steady, and virtuous men, who so strenuously and perseveringly fought a constitutional declaration of the rights of this kingdom, and that to refuse or evade such declaration, is to betray the people, and high treason against the constitution.

Resolved unanimously (Captain Waller having left the chair) That the thanks of this meeting be given to him, for his upright conduct therein, and for his activity and constant attention to the corps.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and Munster Journal.

Signed by order,

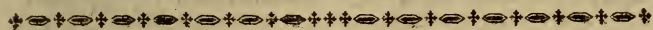
RICHARD WALLER, Captain.

*At a full Meeting of the Lower Iveagh Legion, at Dromore, on  
the 7th of April, 1782,*

The following resolutions were proposed, and unanimously  
agreed to :

**R**ESOLVED, That the strength of the Volunteers depends  
on their being unanimous.

Resolved, That the moderate proceedings at Dungannon  
tend to promote union, and meet with our approbation.



### CLANE RANGERS.

*At a Meeting of the Clane Rangers, held at Clane, in the County  
of Kildare, the 7th of April, 1782.*

Captain SAMUEL MILLS in the Chair.

**R**ESOLVED unanimously, That we entirely coincide in  
opinion with the resolutions of the Delegates held at Dungan-  
non, the 15th of February last.

Resolved, That we will co-operate with our brethren Vo-  
lunteers in every constitutional measure, to support said re-  
solutions.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be  
given to Captain Mills, for his constant attention to this corps.

Signed by order,

SAMUEL MILLS.



*At a Meeting of the Passage Union Volunteers, April 7, 1782.*

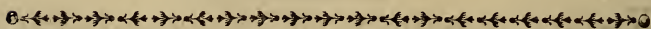
**R**ESOLVED, That no power has a right to make laws to  
bind Ireland, but the King, Lords, and Commons thereof.

Resolved, That we will co-operate with our brother Volun-  
teers in every constitutional measure, that shall be judged ne-  
cessary for obtaining redress of real national grievances.

Resolved, That we are most loyally attached to our Sove-  
reign, and will, to the utmost of our power, support his person,  
crown and dignity ; and that we wish most ardently to have  
the

the bonds of friendship indissolubly united between our fellow-subjects of Great Britain and us, as nothing can tend more to the welfare of both.

Signed by order,  
DAVID THOMPSON, Secretary.



*At a numerous Meeting of the Tallow Blues, held the 7th of April, 1782.*

GEORGE BOWLES, Capt. Commandant, in the Chair.

**RESOLVED** unanimously, That we do highly approve of, and most heartily accede to, the patriotic and spirited resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, the 15th of February last; and that we will cheerfully co-operate with our brother Volunteers in such constitutional measures, as shall appear most expedient for obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

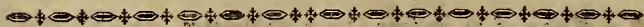
Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted by our Chairman, to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates, and be published in the Dublin and Cork Evening Posts.

Signed by order,  
GEORGE BOWLES, Capt. Commandant.

The Chairman having quitted the Chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to Captain Bowles, for his upright conduct, and great attention to the discipline and welfare of this corps.

Signed by order,  
ANTHONY HAYLES, Lieut. Tallow Blues.



C O U N T Y of W I C K L O W.

B A R O N Y of T A L B O T S T O W N.

*At a Meeting of this Barony Corps, the 7th of April, 1782.*

WILLIAM HUME, Esq; in the Chair.

**RESOLVED** unanimously, That we most heartily approve of the patriotic and spirited resolutions entered into by the  
Delegates

Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February, and of the Connaught Volunteers, assembled at Ballinasloe, the 15th of March last; and that we will most cheerfully co-operate with our brother Volunteers, in asserting and maintaining the constitutional rights of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That a Delegate do attend from this corps in Dublin, at the Royal Exchange, on the 17th instant, and that our worthy colonel, Nicholas Westby, be, and he is hereby appointed to represent us there that day.

Resolved unanimously, That copies of these our resolutions be transmitted to the secretaries of the Ulster and Connaught Volunteers, and that they be published in the Dublin Evening Post.

W. HUME, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to our worthy chairman, Lieut. Col. Hume, for his upright conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published.

Signed by Order,

Rev. JOSEPH PASLEY, Secretary.

*At a Meeting of Knox's Independent Troop of Light Horse,  
at Dromore, on the 7th inst. the following Resolutions were  
proposed, and unanimously agreed to:*

RESOLVED, That the strength of the Volunteers depends on their being unanimous.

Resolved, That the moderate proceedings at Dungannon tend to promote union, and meet with our approbation.

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*At a Meeting of the Castlecomer Hunters, and Light Infantry,
held at Castlecomer, the 8th Day of April, 1782.*

Colonel Lord WANDESFORD in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly approve of the Resolutions entered into at the Dungannon meeting, on Friday

Friday the 15th of February last, and are ready to co-operate with our brother Volunteers in support of every constitutional measure.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy chairman, for his attention to these corps.

Signed by Order,
ALEXANDER BRADLY, Secretary.



UNION REGIMENT.

At a Meeting of the Representatives of the several Corps of this Regiment held at the Market-house in Moira, on Monday the 8th Day of April, 1782, in order to take into consideration the Dungannon Resolutions.

Lieut. Col. SHARMAN in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That in the present general appeal to the people, we think ourselves called on, as part of the civil body, to make a public declaration of our principles.

Resolved, That his majesty's loyal subjects of this regiment, entertain a sincere and unfeigned attachment to his majesty's person and government.

Resolved, That his Majesty's people of Ireland are a free people, inheritors of a free constitution descended to them from their ancestors.

Resolved, That his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, giving a distinct title to an Imperial crown; with a parliament of its own, the sole legislature of the state.

Resolved, That it is the undoubted right of this free people (a right which they value as their lives) to be governed solely by their own laws: That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only representatives of this crown and people, and that the interposition of any other body of men with the legislature of this country, is incompatible with our fundamental laws and franchises.

Resolved, That next to our liberties, we value our connection with Great Britain as a blessing, on which the happiness of both kingdoms depends; we shall look forward, therefore, with a pleasing conviction, that the justice of Great Britain will shake hands

hands with the liberties of Ireland : and that a liberal renunciation of claims, so useless to the claimants, to us the cause of discontent, and to others of fatal calamities, will secure the peace of the present, and the attachment of the succeeding generations.

Resolved, That our fellow-citizens at Dunganon have set an example of public spirit, controuled by moderation, declaratory of our rights, to the satisfaction of our understandings, and explanatory of our grievances, without inflaming our discontents.

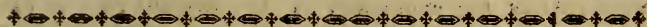
We assure them, therefore, of our approbation, and that we shall join with them in every salutary application which may heal the constitution; and adopt every constitutional mode which may tend to establish our rights, and obtain a redress of our grievances.

Resolved, That we return them our sincere thanks for, and embrace the invitation held out in their two last resolutions, of becoming members of the said meeting, and hereby request Captain Dawson to lay these resolutions before the committee.

Capt. PATTON in the Chair ;

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to Lieut. Col. Sharman, for his particular propriety and politeness of conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,
WILLIAM BATEMAN, Secretary.



R O S C R E A B L U E S.

In full Body assembled on Monday the 8th Day of April, 1782.

Capt. EDWARD BIRCH in the Chair.

THINK it would be at this time highly criminal in them, as independent Volunteers and freeholders, to remain silent, and have therefore come to the following resolutions :

Whereas, it has been asserted, *that the Volunteers, as such, cannot debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or on men in public employments.*

A 2

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That a freeholder, by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.

Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of the spirited and constitutional resolutions of the Ulster Delegates assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last; and also, the resolutions entered into at Birr, on the 20th of March last, at which meeting our Delegate, Col. Vaughan, attended.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be presented to the majority of the Grand Jury at the last Lent Assizes in Clonmel, for their truly spirited declarations, and that we perfectly coincide in opinion with them, and will use every constitutional means in our power to obtain a redress of the grievances therein mentioned.

Resolved unanimously, That, connected as we are with Great Britain by every tie of interest and affection, we are determined to share her liberty and share her fate.

Resolved unanimously, That at every ensuing election we are determined to support those only, who have made the good of their country the primary object.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be presented to Henry Prittie, Esq; one of our representatives, for his steady and upright conduct in parliament, and while he continues to persevere (which we have not the least doubt of) in maintaining the rights of his country, he shall meet with our warmest support.

Resolved unanimously, That it appears to us, that from the unequal representation of the people, we have reason to apprehend that the endeavours of the virtuous part of our House of Commons to obtain a redress of grievances may prove abortive; we, therefore, pledge ourselves, should any well judged constitutional attempts be made to bring our parliament to its pristine purity, our zealous support will not be wanting.

Captain BIRCH having left the chair,

It was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this corps be presented to him, for his propriety of conduct in the chair.

By Order,
JOHN FRANCK, Secretary.

At a numerous Meeting of the Freeholders and principal Inhabitants of the Parish of Dondonald, on Monday the 8th of April, 1782.

ANDREW CUMMING, Esq; in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That in the present critical situation of our affairs as a nation, in which we have so much at stake, and in which every individual is of some weight, we consider it as an indispensable duty we owe to ourselves, and to our country, to join with our fellow-citizens in demanding those constitutional privileges, which are our unalienable birth-right as a free-people.

Resolved, That we highly admire, and adopt in their fullest latitude, the wise, spirited, and patriotic resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers represented at Dungannon; and we do, in the most solemn manner, declare, That we will co-operate with all the true friends of Ireland, in every measure that may seem best calculated for obtaining a full redress of our grievances—the establishment of the independence of our legislature, and the securing the constitution of our country against every illegal encroachment.

Resolved, That as the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of the people, and derive their power solely from them, every member of that house, who contemptuously neglects the instructions of his constituents, or acts in opposition to the declared sense of the people, betrays his trust, and abdicates his representation: it being the grossest abuse of language, to call that man the representative of him whose known sentiments he directly opposes.

Resolved, That we will not be accessory to the greater miseries of our country, or the future guilt of those men, who in the present parliament opposed a redress of our grievances and the establishment of our rights, by giving them our support on any future election; but will strenuously exert ourselves to procure a return of such men, as we have reason to believe are men of real integrity and true patriotism; and who will solemnly engage to attend their duty, and to make the public good the sole rule of their parliamentary conduct.

Resolved,

Resolved, That, as it is essential to the very being of parliament, that elections should be absolutely free, and as we owe above all things justice to our country, we pledge ourselves, as freeholders, to one another, and to our country, by every tie that can bind men, that we will, on every ensuing election in this county, give our votes to such men only, as we are convinced will faithfully discharge the duties of the important trust committed to them; and that we will discountenance every species of undue influence and corruption, not admitting the smallest favour from those to whom we give our support, that they may have no pretence of right to sell us, having first bought us.

Resolved, That Andrew Cumming, Robert Lambert, Daniel Blow, John Glenhome, James Stewart, John Boyd, David McNall, John Cumming, John Cumming, jun. and James Caldwell, be appointed a committee to call the next meeting of the parish, and to act in concert with the other committees of the county, appointed for similar purposes.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and in the Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by Order,
ANDREW CUMMING.



LONDONDERRY REGIMENT.

In Committee, 8th of April, 1782.

Colonel FERGUSON, Chairman.

RESOLVED, That the following address be published in the L. Derry Journal.

To the Inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Londonderry.

IN the season of national distress and danger, the Volunteers of Ireland, associated for its relief and protection, the corps which form this regiment, early entered into this necessary and honourable service; they, in common with their fellow-subjects, have had the satisfaction of seeing the distressed of their country relieved; but have, at the same time, seen the

the enemies of the empire encrease, and its danger become still more imminent. The principles on which they originally associated must therefore, now, more than ever, engage them to continue their exertions; for, at no time hath the exertions of the Volunteer army been so necessary to the peace and security of Ireland. The Londonderry regiment, sensible of this truth, are determined to persevere in perfecting their discipline, completing their appointments, and providing every necessary to enable them to serve their country with effect.

In consequence of this determination, we, the regimental committee, have taken measures to provide the regiment with artillery, so absolutely essential to the success of all military operations. This provision must, however, be attended with considerable expence, and, therefore, a subscription has been opened in the regiment; but, as the benefits are general, and the cause common, so ought to be the exertions; and hence we are led to observe, that those who are not personally engaged, are in justice, peculiarly called upon to shew their attachment to the cause by their contributions.

We mean to make a general application, and we doubt not the zeal and public spirit of our fellow-citizens.

Signed by order,

WM. PATTERSON, Secretary.



CITY of DUBLIN MEETING.

At Meeting of the Sessions Grand Jury, for the County of the City of Dublin, held at the Tholsel on Monday, April 8, 1782, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That we hold it to be repugnant to common sense, as well as incompatible with every idea of freedom, that Ireland should be governed by two separate and distinct legislatures.

Resolved, That every attempt of the British parliament to restrain or limit the trade, or to frame laws for the government of this kingdom, is illegal and unconstitutional.

Resolved, That we most cordially, and without any reserve, assent to the resolutions delivered at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, by the very respectable assembly of Delegates
from

from the Ulster corps of Volunteers; and that we will, upon every ensuing election, support those only who have and will maintain the independence of Ireland; and that we will also co-operate with our patriotic countrymen, in all legal and constitutional measures, to liberate our country from every oppression and illegal restraint.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Pat. Bride, Foreman | 12 Alan Bellingham |
| 2 William Humfrey | 13 John Decluzeau |
| 3 Alex. Kirkpatrick | 14 William Dickson |
| 4 Arthur Stanley | 15 George Lunell |
| 5 Henry Gudgeon | 16 Samuel Canier |
| 6 Hugh Trevor | 17 Montfort Green |
| 7 Samuel Read | 18 Samuel Holmes |
| 8 John Carleton | 19 George Sall |
| 9 Henry Lyons | 20 Peter Wilkenfon |
| 10 Francis Armstrong | 21 James Lecky |
| 11 Arch. Armstrong | 22 Lundy Foot. |

The Foreman having left the Chair, and the Treasurer having taken it, the following Resolution was agreed to:

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Jury be given to our worthy Foreman, Patrick Bride, Esq; for his steady, upright, and impartial conduct in the chair, and that this resolution be signed by the Treasurer, and published.

JOHN CARLETON, Treasurer.



At a Meeting of the Freeman, Freeholders, and Citizens of Cork, on the 9th of April, pursuant to Notice given by Robert Hutchinson, Esq; one of the Sheriffs of the City, in the public Papers of the 5th and 8th inst.

ROBERT HUTCHINSON, Esq; Sheriff, in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That a national bank, on the establishment and principles proposed in the heads of a bill for the regulation thereof, appears to be a scheme, devised to give an additional temporary value to the public debt of this kingdom: That the intended stock being of fictitious, not real value, no additional coin will be thrown into circulation, and no advantage can arise to the mercantile interest. That as the paper currency may be increased in an unlimited manner, on a limited security, danger to the industrious part of the community is to be apprehended, and a sudden check to the trade and commerce of this country expected: and that
such

such measure must tend to encrease the influence of the crown ; and by encreasing it, endanger the rights of the people.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice) That a test be tendered to every person who shall, in future, offer himself a candidate to represent this city in parliament.

ROBERT HUTCHINSON, Chairman.

The Chairman being required to attend immediately in Court, and Mr. Stawell being placed by him in the Chair, the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to :

RESOLVED unanimously, That the test to be tendered to each candidate, be in the underwritten form and words, viz.

Will you solemnly promise to vote for a declaration of the independence of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and oppose, to the utmost of your power, as a member of the legislature, the usurped claim of the parliament of Great Britain, to make laws to bind this kingdom.

To which, the candidate (who expects to be returned) will answer, should I be elected, I solemnly promise so to do.

Will you solemnly promise to vote for a repeal, or for such an amendment of the law, called Poyning's, as may destroy the unconstitutional power exercised by the Privy Council of either kingdom ?

To which, &c. &c.

Will you, to the utmost of your power, as a member of the legislature, oppose any burthen on, or obstruction to the trade of this kingdom, save only by the parliament of Ireland ?

To which, &c. &c.

Will you solemnly promise to vote for limiting the present perpetual mutiny bill two years ?

To which, &c. &c.

Will you solemnly promise to vote for making the tenure of the judges, *Quam diu se bene jesserint* ?

To which, &c. &c.

Will you in all other things, act as a good and honest representative ?

To which, &c. &c.

The candidate shall then say,

The things which I have before promised, I pledge my sacred word of honour to perform.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sheriff Hutchinson, for so readily complying with the desire of the gentlemen assembled on the 4th, for his very proper conduct this day in the chair ; and that he be requested to publish the transactions of this day.

S. STAWELL, Chairman.

C O U N T Y of W E X F O R D.

At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Wexford, convened by the High Sheriff, at the County Court-house, on Tuesday the 9th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to public Notice.

RESOLVED, That the late spirited and successful efforts of the parliament of Great Britain to assert their own rights, and support their own constitution against the undue influence of the crown, is an example well worthy the imitation of the parliament of Ireland.

Resolved, That Great Britain and Ireland ought to enjoy equal liberty and the same constitution, and that we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, support this position.

Resolved, That we deny the authority of the British parliament, to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will not obey any laws that shall be so made.

Resolved, That a mutiny law, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, alarming, and a grievance that requires redress.

Resolved, That the assumed legislative authority of the Privy Council of Great Britain and Ireland, are unconstitutional, and a grievance, and that there ought to be a proper modification of Poyning's law.

Resolved, That Ireland is entitled to a real and perfect free trade.

Resolved, That the virtues of the people are the great basis upon which alone the government of any country can, or ought to stand, and that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness, are the virtues infused into its inhabitants, and that to withhold from those virtues (which the Volunteer associations of Ireland possess in an eminent degree, the tribute of esteem and veneration) is to deny ourselves the means of happiness and honour.

Resolved, That Mr. Izod's address to his countrymen, ought to be written in indelible characters on the heart of every Irishman, that he deserves not our thanks alone, but the grateful acknowledgments of the whole nation, and that we offer ours to him with the highest sense of his virtue, his zeal for the public good, and his disinterested motives.

Resolved, That we will not at the next, or any future election, vote for any person to represent us in parliament, who shall

shall then hold or enjoy any place or pension, or shall not, previous to his election, assure us, that during his continuance in parliament, he will not accept of either, directly or indirectly.

Resolved, That we will not vote for any person possessed of a borough, that sells or disposes of that borough to any person, who does not promise not to accept any place or pension from government.

Resolved, That we think it peculiarly necessary now to declare, that all Judges should be appointed during good behaviour.

Resolved, That as Great Britain has thought it necessary to make a general reform; no partial reform will answer for Ireland, and that it is impossible this kingdom can exist under the present system of corruption; and the profligate expensiture of its revenues.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the late relaxation of the penal laws against our countrymen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, satisfied that such a measure will insure harmony and union amongst us, and be the means of making them happy.

Resolved, That the interest of Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably connected, and we take this opportunity of declaring for ourselves, and we have the fullest confidence and conviction of its being the universal sentiment and wish of the people of Ireland, that the present measures are intended seasonably to remove and terminate all anxious jealousies, to prevent future contests, and cement the strongest union between us and our sister kingdom, attached to her, as we are, by every tie of interest and affection, and resolved *to share her liberty and her fate.*

Resolved, That we do most highly approve of the parliamentary conduct of our representatives, George Ogle, Esq; and Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart.

Resolved, That we have been long and well acquainted with, and have the most perfect confidence in their zeal for the welfare of their country. We think it altogether unnecessary to offer them any instructions, further than to add weight to their exertions.

At the above Meeting, the following Address of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, convened at said Meeting, was read and ordered to be presented to George Ogle, Esq; Representative in Parliament for said County.

S I R,

THE sentiments we have just now expressed, are such as require a representative of consummate abilities, and the most incorruptible integrity, to carry them into execution.

Many years experience have fully convinced us, that no person is more capable to discharge this high and important trust than you are. We, therefore, intreat you to stand forth a candidate to represent this county in parliament, at the next ensuing general election.

We should blush at making this request, if we were not ever ready to acknowledge, with the most lively gratitude, that the public good has been invariably the rule of your conduct, and particularly, that your exertions to establish the constitutional rights and commercial interests of Ireland, on the most settled and permanent foundation, have been great and unremitting.

We also esteem ourselves exceedingly fortunate in your having a colleague, who has, at all times, uniformly supported the rights and privileges of his country; and we return him our thanks for the polite offer of his services, and do assure him that a steady perseverance in the same line of conduct, will be the surest and certain foundation of our future suffrages. Be assured, you have our warmest approbation, and that we are, with respect and regard,

Your most obliged, and

Most faithful servants,

Signed by order,

HENRY BROWNRIGG, Sheriff.

Resolved at said meeting, That our thanks be given to Henry Brownrigg, Esq; the High Sheriff, for his ready compliance in convening the county, and for his candour, impartiality, and propriety of conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions and address be inserted six times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Wexford Journal.

*To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of
Wexford.*

Gentlemen,

I HAVE this day had the pleasure to receive your address; the honourable testimony it bears to my past conduct in parliament, and the generous confidence it reposes on my future exertions, cannot fail to impress my mind with such sentiments, as a heart, conscious of its own rectitude, and resolved to persevere, must naturally feel.

Though I have not canvassed your county, though I have not declared myself a candidate, be assured, I will never decline any post of honour or of public trust, to which you shall please to appoint me; and that it is impossible to entertain a stronger sense of obligation and gratitude than I do, at the very distinguishing manner in which you have called upon me to become, at the ensuing general election, the guardian of your rights and liberties.

Dispose of me as you judge I shall be of the most advantage to you; my life is devoted to your service; I have no ambition above the confidence and esteem of my constituents; I have no object in my public view beyond the glory and welfare of my country.

Depend upon it, no effort of mine shall be wanting to carry the measures you advise into the fullest execution; the decided opinion of so great and powerful a county, must give the greatest weight to the exertions of your representatives. I shall be happy on all occasions to learn your sentiments; I shall always receive your instructions with pleasure, and will ever pay them the highest respect, and most scrupulous attention. I have the honour,

Gentlemen, to be,

Your most obedient,

And faithful humble servant,

GEORGE OGLE.

*Merrion-square,
April 15, 1782.*

COUNTY

COUNTY of LONGFORD.

At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Longford, convened at the Requisition of the High Sheriff, on the 9th of April, 1782.

The following resolutions and declarations were agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we have hitherto delayed making any declaration of our sentiments, or communicating our instructions to our representatives, in order that we might obtain the general sense of the unbiassed, unprejudiced, and independent constituents of this united kingdom, and are more happy in declaring our concurrence with the universal voice of the nation.

That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, only, are competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; that the commerce of this kingdom was, and of right ought to be free from every restraint, except such as are imposed by the parliament of Ireland. That the power of the Privy Council exercised under the pretence of the law of Poyning's, is an unconstitutional grievance.

That a mutiny bill, not limited, may be dangerous to the liberties of Ireland.

That the independence of Judges is essential to the impartial administration of justice, as well in Ireland as in England.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the virtuous minority of the House of Commons, who have uniformly supported the great constitutional and commercial rights of this kingdom, and we expect their steady perseverance in the same.

Resolved, That it is our deliberate and unalterable determination, and we pledge ourselves to our country, as freemen and fellow-citizens, that we will use every constitutional means to render our pursuit of redress effectual.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions and declarations be transmitted to our representatives, assuring them that their steady support of these measures, will be the effectual means of receiving our future confidence and support.

LEWIS MONTFORT, Sheriff.

The Sheriff having left the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the High Sheriff, for his readiness in convening the freeholders upon this occasion.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Lau. H. Harman, Esq; for his upright conduct in parliament, and we lament, that the infirm state of health of our other representative, Henry Gore, Esq; has hitherto deprived us of his assistance.

Resolved, That the above resolutions and declarations be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Dublin Journal.

WM. SANDYS, Esq; Chairman.



COUNTY KERRY MEETING.

We the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Kerry, convened at Tralee, on Tuesday the 9th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to Notice given by the High Sheriff,

Do unanimously declare,

THAT we acknowledge no other power, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, as competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; that we conceive the interference of any other body for that purpose, to be a wanton and unwarrantable encroachment, and an infringement of our rights; and that we do expect such declaration from our representatives in parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people.

That every member is sent into parliament for the purpose of making known the sense of his constituents.

That therefore any member who does not, on all occasions, pay implicit obedience to the instructions of his constituents, is a betrayer of the trust reposed in him.

That a perpetual mutiny bill is unconstitutional, and highly dangerous.

That Ireland is equally entitled with England to trade to foreign countries; and that an exclusive right, assumed by the latter in any instance, is an unjust monopoly.

That

That the independence of the Judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that a refusal or delay of this right to us is a partial and unjust distinction.

That the proceedings of the people of Ireland at this time, are dictated by no other spirit than that of a sincere wish to render indissoluble the bonds by which the sister countries are united, by removing every object of jealousy which subsists between them, thus to insure their mutual affections, their interests being one.

That we return our warmest acknowledgments to the minority of the House of Commons, for their spirited efforts to vindicate the constitution of this kingdom, and trust that in the end, a steady perseverance in such conduct will produce the desired effect ; and we pledge ourselves, that we shall ever be ready to devote our lives and fortunes to the establishment of our rights.

DENIS MAHONY, Sheriff.

The Sheriff having left the chair, it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High Sheriff, for his readiness in convening the county, and for his proper conduct in the chair.



At a Meeting of the Moycashel Association at Mullingar, on the 9th of April, 1782.

Captain JOHN LYONS in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, as they derive their power only from the people.

That we highly approve of the spirited toleration, lately manifested in our legislature, by a relaxation of certain penal laws, which cannot fail to render the Roman Catholics of this kingdom happy.

That we will co-operate with our countrymen Volunteers, in support of our constitutional rights, by every means consistent with the strict observance of the laws of this kingdom.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the thanks of this association be given to captain Lyons, for his great attention to the corps.

Signed by Order,
JOSEPH BEARD, Adj. and Sec.

Ordered, That the above resolutions be printed in the Westmeath Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.



C O U N T Y of D O W N.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Seapatrick, in the County of Down, at the Market-house of Banbridge, the 10th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to Notice given.

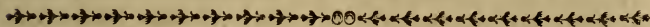
The Rev. HENRY JACKSON in the Chair.

The resolutions and address of the Delegates at Dungannon, the 15th day of February last, and the address from the committee by them appointed, dated the 6th of April inst. to the electors and members of parliament of the province of Ulster, being read,

RESOLVED unanimously, That the said resolutions and addresses do meet with our warmest approbation, and that we will, with our lives and fortunes, co-operate with our fellow-citizens, in rendering those resolutions and addresses effectual.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by our Chairman, and published in the Dublin Evening Post, and in the Belfast and Newry papers.

By order,
HENRY JACKSON, Chairman.



At a Meeting of the Ida Light Dragoons, on the 10th Day of April, 1782.

Major FITZGERALD in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

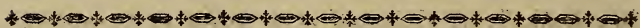
RESOLVED, That it is our indispensable duty, as Irishmen and Volunteers, to declare our approbation of the resolutions agreed to by the Delegates assembled at Dungannon.

Resolved,

Resolved, That we will co-operate with our brother Volunteers, in maintaining the constitutional rights of Ireland, and in procuring redress of our national grievances.

Resolved, That a parliamentary declaration of the rights of Ireland is now absolutely necessary, as a foundation and security for obtaining a bill of rights.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the representatives of the people, in great constitutional and national questions, implicitly to obey the instructions of their constituents, and to attend to the voice of the nation.



COUNTY of WESTMEATH.

FORE INFANTRY LOYALISTS.

At a Meeting of the Barony of Fore Infantry Loyalists, held at Castle-Pollard, on Wednesday the 10th of April, 1782.

Major WILLIAM POLLARD in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz.

RESOLVED, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland.

Resolved, That the subjects of Ireland, having the same King, and a constitution exactly similar, are entitled to the same rights and privileges with the British subjects.

Resolved, That we will most firmly and cheerfully co-operate with our fellow-citizens and Volunteers in every constitutional and loyal measure to obtain, not only those rights and privileges, and consequently a redress of grievances, but also to give them a permanent support and establishment.

Major William Pollard having quit the Chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Major William Pollard, for his spirited and upright conduct in the chair this day.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to Capt. Nugent, for his unwearied attention to the discipline and good order of this corps.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Westmeath Journal.

JOHN ORFORD, Secretary.

RATHDOWN CARABINEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Rathdown Carabineers, at Powercourt,
in the County of Wicklow, April 10, 1782.*

Major EDWARDS in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we do highly approve of the resolutions lately entered into at Dungannon.

Resolved, and we do pledge ourselves to be ready to co-operate with the other Volunteer corps, in every constitutional measure for the support of the rights and liberties of this kingdom.

Signed by order,

THO. DOWSE, Sec.

CALLAN UNION.

At a Meeting of the Callan Union, held at Callan, on Wednesday, the 10th of April, 1782.

Captain POE in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the Dungannon Volunteer resolutions, entered into on the 15th of February last, entirely meet our approbation, and fully comprehend our sentiments, and that we will, at all times, most cheerfully co-operate with our fellow-citizens and Volunteers, in obtaining a redress of all national grievances, and an establishment of the rights of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Colonel, George Agar, Esq; for his patriotic conduct in parliament.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Freeman's Journal.

T. TAYLOR, Secretary.

DUNGARVAN VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Dungarvan Volunteers, No. 1, No. 2, at the Town-house in Dungarvan, the 10th of April, 1782.

Captain BOATE in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we will support the representatives of the people with our lives and fortunes, in whatever measures may be necessary to render the above declaration effectual.

Resolved, That we will co-operate with our brother Volunteers in every constitutional measure, for the emancipation of our country from all foreign legislation.

Resolved, That it is our earnest wish that all jealousies that may subsist between us and our sister kingdom might be removed, as we should be ready and willing to share with her in every fate, and happy, at every opportunity, of proving our loyalty and attachment to our Sovereign.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, for his attention to the corps, and upright conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Waterford papers.

Signed by order of the corps,

JOHN WILKINSON, Sec.



COUNTY of WESTMEATH.

At a full Meeting of the Farbill Light Dragoons, held at Killucan, the 10th Day of April, 1782.

Captain ROBERT COOK in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were agreed on:

RESOLVED, That as our original institution was for the internal peace of this county, as well as for the defence of this kingdom in general, from foreign enemies, that we will maintain the same with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved,

Resolved, That it is the inherent right of his Majesty's free-born subjects of Ireland, to give their opinion on such laws, as may be thought necessary for the interest and welfare of this kingdom.

Resolved, That no power on earth is competent to make laws to bind Ireland, except the King, Lords, and Commons thereof.

Resolved, That we do recommend it most strenuously to our brethren Volunteers, to persevere in the spirit of moderation and firmness, which have already done them so much honour.

Resolved, That we will not support any candidates to represent us in parliament, that will not give the most apparent proofs of the brilliancy of their integrity, relative to the salvation of the constitution of their country; and that any landlord who uses his influence contrary to the freedom of sentiment of his tenantry, upon any election, shall be considered as an enemy to his country.

ROB. COOK, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That the sincere thanks of this corps be given to our worthy captain, for convening us at this time, and for his attention to the Volunteer cause in general, and to this corps in particular.

Resolved, That our thanks be given to Edward Purdon, sen. Esq; for his steady adherence to the interest of this corps since its formation.

Resolved unanimously, That these our resolutions be printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and Dublin Journal.

Signed by Order,

JOHN PURDON, Sec.



RATHDOWN LIGHT DRAGOONS.

COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

At a Meeting of this Corps, on Wednesday the 10th of April, 1782.

Col. Sir JOHN ALLEN JOHNSON, Bart. in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

RESOLVED, That we do highly approve of, and accede to, the resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster corps

corps assembled at Dungannon, and several other county corps, and that we will co-operate with them in every constitutional measure, to preserve our rights and liberties, and obtain a redress of grievances.

Resolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are alone competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved, That we will not, on any election for a representative to serve in parliament in this kingdom, vote for any candidate who has not uniformly supported the rights and liberties of his constituents.

Resolved, That we feel the sincerest satisfaction at the relaxation of the penal laws against our fellow-subjects and brethren, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, and consider it as fraught with wisdom and humanity.

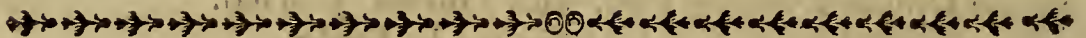
Resolved, That a Delegate from this corps do attend the provincial meeting, at the Royal Exchange, on Wednesday the 17th of April, inst.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Hibernian Journal, Saunders's News-Letter, and the Dublin Evening Post.

J. A. JOHNSON, Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our chairman, for his particular attention to this corps, and upright conduct this day in the chair.

JOHN FARRAN, Secretary.



CITY of LIMERICK.

Limerick, April 11, 1782.

AT a time when religious prejudices seem intirely laid aside, and a spirit of liberty and toleration breathes unanimously through all sects, we see with concern so loyal and respectable a part of our brethren, as the Roman Catholics, stand idle spectators of the glorious exertions of their countrymen in the Volunteer cause: Actuated by these principles, the Limerick Independents think themselves called upon to step forward, and invite their fellow-citizens of the Roman Catholic persuasion to unite in the common cause, and enrol themselves under their standard. By order,

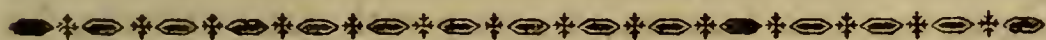
JOHN HARRISON, Secretary.

Such

Such gentlemen as wish to join the corps, are requested to send in their names to any of the officers or committee, that they may be ballotted for.

The Roman Catholics of the city of Limerick, impressed with a just sense of the honour conferred upon them by the Limerick Independents, are happy in this public testimony of their acknowledgements to the corps, for the very liberal invitation of associating themselves with so respectable a body of their fellow-subjects. Whilst they feel a most grateful sense of the late removal of many of their restraints, and look forward with pleasure to the approaching period of emancipation, it is their most earnest wish to maintain those principles of virtue and loyalty, which are the glory of a free people, and have so eminently distinguished the character of Irish Volunteers. *Limerick, April 10, 1782.*

MARTIN HARROLD, Esq; in the Chair.



C O U N T Y of D U B L I N.

At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin, assembled in the Court-house, at Kilmainham, on Thursday the 11th of April, 1782.

The following Resolutions were agreed to :

THOMAS BAKER, Esq; Foreman, in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That no power on earth, but the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, can in right, make laws to bind the people of this land.

Resolved, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people; and that a denial of this proposition by them would be to abdicate the representation.

The following Address was then read by the Chairman, and agreed to:

To the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, and Sir Edward Newenham, Knight.

Gentlemen,

WE, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Dublin, warmly coinciding with that determination respecting the

the constitutional rights of Ireland, with which the mind of every man in this nation is deeply impressed, think it our duty to express those feelings in the strongest terms.

As you have already evinced your intention to support the sole and undoubted authority of the legislature of Ireland to make laws for its government, we confidently hope and expect, that you will persevere in pursuing the most decisive and immediate measures that may effectually carry that great object into execution, by a solemn ratification of our rights.

Though this is, at the present crisis, the principle matters under the consideration of parliament, we have no doubt but that you must consider it your duty to act, in all things that affect the freedom of our constitution, in such manner as may become the representatives of a great and independent country.

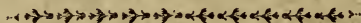
Resolved, That copies of the above resolutions and address, signed by the high Sheriff and Foreman, be presented to the right hon. Luke Gardiner, and Sir Edward Newenham, Knight, and that the same, together with their answers, be published.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Grand Jury be presented to our worthy high Sheriff, William Fortick, Esq; for his cheerfully concurring with us in the above resolutions.

THOMAS BAKER, Foreman.

The Sheriff having taken the chair, it was resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Thomas Baker, Esq; our Foreman, for his great propriety, and impartial conduct in the chair.

WM. FORTICK, Sheriff.



To the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

IT gives me very sincere satisfaction, that my conduct, relative to the sole and undoubted authority of the legislature of Ireland, has merited your approbation. You may be assured, that I shall persevere in giving my warmest support to that great and important object; as I consider it so decisively founded in right, that no man, who loves to be free, can hesitate to acknowledge and to assert it.

With respect to any other matter that may affect the freedom of our constitution, I am so conscious of my intentions to promote the perfect contentment of this country, that I have

no doubt I shall, in every particular, deserve that confidence with which you have hitherto honoured me.

I am very glad that you have given me an opportunity of declaring my sentiments thus publicly at this crisis; as I think that the time is now come which demands an explicit and a permanent settlement of the constitution of Ireland, as the certain means of establishing the tranquility of this country, and of perpetuating the harmony which ought to subsist between us and Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Henricetta-street,

Your very obliged humble servant,

April 13, 1782.

LUKE GARDINER.

To the High Sheriff, Foreman, and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

I ALWAYS receive your instructions with respect and pleasure, for it is equally my duty and inclination to obey them; if I did not, I should betray that delegated trust with which you have honoured me.

In respect to those great objects in which you desire "I will persevere," I assure you, I will most faithfully pursue that line of conduct marked out by you; confident that his Majesty cannot, in justice to this independent kingdom, refuse his royal assent to such acts, as may be deemed by the Irish parliament "a solemn ratification of our rights." I flatter myself that no Irish Minister should be found so presumptuous, as to impede the total annihilation of foreign usurpation; if such a Minister should be found, the parliament of Ireland, supported by the general voice of the people, *ought* to do their duty. Though effectual impeachments have been too long neglected, and thereby our sister kingdom has nearly fallen a martyr to the corruption and wickedness of its ministry, the spirit of this nation is too high, to submit patiently to national insults.

You are also pleased to direct me "to act in all things that affect the freedom of our constitution, as may become the representative of a great and independent county;" in order to accomplish that object, I have frequently introduced heads of a bill to secure the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of placemen, and totally excluding pensioners from sitting therein; a hostile band of parliamentary placemen and pensioners

pensioners is the foundation of internal and external corruption.

Every measure tending to maintain the freedom, or promote the trade and manufactures of your great, respectable, and independent county, shall meet my warmest support in every station of life.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Your most obliged,
And faithful trustee,

Dumcondra,
April 13, 1782.

EDWARD NEWENHAM.



MULLINGAR VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Mullingar Corps, on Friday, April 12, 1782.

WILLIAM JUDGE, Esq; Colonel, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

THAT the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will not assist in the executing of any, but those enacted by the legislature aforesaid.

That we highly approve of the wise, spirited, and liberal resolutions of the gentlemen of the county Galway, on the 31st of March last, and that we will co-operate with them, and our Volunteer brethren, in every constitutional measure for obtaining the most perfect unequivocal establishment of the just rights of Ireland.

That we highly approve of, and rejoice in the relaxation of the penal Popery Laws of this kingdom.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be inserted three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Westmeath Journal.

WM. JUDGE, Chairman.

Colonel Judge having left the chair, the Rev. Robert Ross was voted in,

When it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to our worthy Colonel, William Judge, Esq; for his great attention to the corps, and for his present of an elegant stand of colours.

At

At an Assembly held at the Tholsel of the City of Dublin, on Friday the 12th Day of April, 1782.

The following Resolutions were agreed to :

RESOLVED unanimously, That the members of the House of Commons, are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and that a denial of this proposition by them, would be to abdicate the representation.

Resolved unanimously, That we conceive that the people of this country, are now called upon to declare, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we do hope and expect such declaration of rights, from our representatives in parliament, and that we will support them, with our lives and fortunes, in whatever measure may be necessary to render such declaration an effectual security.

Resolved unanimously, That the present critical and declining state of the manufactures of Ireland, requires the particular attention of the legislature.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of the above resolutions be presented to our worthy representatives in parliament, Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart. and Travers Hartley, Esq.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Freeman's and Dublin Journals.

Signed by order;

TAYLOR and LAMBERT, Town Clerks.



RAKENNY VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Rakenny Independent Volunteers, on the 12th of April, 1782.

Colonel THEOPHILUS CLEMENTS in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we admire and highly approve of the resolutions and address of that virtuous and truly patriotic meeting of Delegates, assembled at Dungannon, on the

15th of February last, and that we, as freemen, citizens and Volunteers, pledge ourselves to co-operate with them, and our brother volunteers, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances by them mentioned.

Resolved, That our warmest acknowledgments are due to that generous assembly, whose liberality allowed us, as one of the county of Cavan corps, a participation of the honour of the meeting, and permitted us to join that association, though not represented.

Resolved, That we think it necessary to declare, that we greatly regret we had not the honour of being represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, as we had resolved upon it, and appointed our Delegates on the 9th, but that this our good intention was defeated, by a subsequent meeting of the county Delegates.

Resolved, That the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people, and as such are in duty bound, upon every momentous question, to ask for, and obey the instructions of their constituents.

Resolved, That the representative only who obeys the instructions of his constituents, and not the mandate of the minister, is worthy of esteem and support.

Resolved, That as the sacred duty which we owe to the community, supercedes all ties and obligations to individuals, we will not suffer private friendship or private virtues to warp our settled determination, not to vote for any man at a future election, who shall act in opposition to the instructions of his constituents, and who will not subscribe a test previous to the election, or who shall absent himself when those questions, on which he is instructed, are agitated in parliament.

Resolved, That freedom in election is the basis of our liberties, and the bulwark of our constitution.

Resolved therefore, That any person who attempts to deprive the elector of this glorious privilege, by any corrupt means or undue influence, such as bribery and corruption, or public entertainments, (the worst species thereof) or who shall make use of threats or promises to warp any elector from his duty, does what in him lies, to subvert the constitution, and is consequently an enemy to his country.

Resolved, That our chairman do communicate these our resolutions to captain James Dawson, Secretary to the committee of the Ulster Volunteers, and inform him, that we
cordially

cordially accept of the invitation to become members of that association.

Resolved, That the address published in the Evening Post, &c. signed James Fleming, importing to be the address of the county of Cavan electors, is surreptitious; as freeholders we disavow it.

Resolved, That the county was not convened by the Sheriff, and that the freeholders at large knew nothing of such a meeting or address being intended.

THEO. CLEMENTS, Chairman.

John Forster, Esq; in the Chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be returned to our worthy Colonel, for his upright and proper conduct upon this and every other occasion, in the chair.

Resolved, That these our resolutions be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by Order.

JAMES DEANE, Sec.



At a Meeting of the united Parishes of Killinchy, Killmud, and Tollynakill, at the Dissenting Meeting-house of Killinchy, in the Barony of Duffrin, convened by public Notice, the 13th of April, 1782.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

HAMILTON MOORE, Esq; in the Chair.

(Present and subscribed by 335.)

THAT the Dungannon resolutions are founded in wisdom and justice, and breathe the true spirit of toleration and independence; we, therefore, pledge ourselves to join with them, in every measure that may tend to establish our rights, and promote the happiness of the people.

That we will not support any man, on the ensuing election, but such as are of approved integrity, and friends to the constitution of Ireland.

That we consider any member of parliament who may oppose the voice of the nation, a betrayer of the trust reposed in

in him, and of course unworthy the support of independent electors.

We cannot but lament, that indispensable business, for some time past, has prevented our members from paying that strict attention to their parliamentary duty, our sanguine expectations might have hoped for; yet, we now are happy with the pleasing prospect of their return, and of their immediate residence among us; being perfectly convinced, their utmost endeavours have been used to establish the real welfare of Ireland.

Resolved, That any man or body of men, actuated by any party-spirit (except that of promoting unanimity and the happiness of the people) are enemies to religious and civil society.

Resolved, That the underneath persons are appointed a committee for these parishes (five to be a quorum) to call us together, and to act as occasion may require.

Resolved, That the thanks of these parishes be given to our chairman, for his particular attention to us at this period.

For the parishes at large, Hamilton Moore.

Ballymacreely,

Samuel Cuffy,

Samuel Hay,

James Anderson.

Ballow,

George Logan, jun.

Ballymacashan,

David Lowry,

Samuel Lowry.

Drumreagh,

Thomas Hazlet,

James Hazlet.

Rafrey,

William Cars,

Carrickruskey,

John Cars.

William Mattear.

Ballyministragh,

James Bailie.

Tullynagee,

James Neill,

Alexander Johnston.

Lisban,

Andrew Lowry.

Ballygleghom,

William Douglass.

Castle-espie,

James Dickson.

Ringireel,

Ham. Jelly.

Killinchy,

William Smyth.

Ballydrain,

John Berry.

Ballymartin,

William Carlisle.

Ardmillen,

Robert Hamilton.

Carrigullen,

John Hewit.

Ballybreagh,

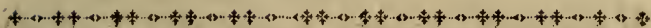
James Smyth.

Bally

Ballygeegan,	Francis Morrow.
Lesbarnet,	Samuel Johnston.
Curraghadoes,	Anthony Smyth.
Tullynakell,	Andrew Lowry.

By order,

HAMILTON MOORE, Chairman.



DONERAILE RANGERS.

*At a Meeting of the Doneraile Rangers, at Doneraile, on
Sunday the 14th of April, 1782.*

Captain NICHOLAS GREEN EVANS in the Chair,

RESOLVED, That the resolutions entered into by the Ulster Delegates, assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, are spirited and rational, and that the gentlemen who formed them deserve our praise, our thanks, and our imitation.

Resolved, That we will, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, endeavour, by every constitutional means, to obtain a declaration of the rights, and a redress of the grievances set forth in said resolutions.

Resolved, That copies of these our resolutions be transmitted to our Colonel, the Right Honourable Lord Doneraile, in Dublin, and to captain Dawson, Secretary to the Ulster Delegates, and that they be published in the Cork and Dublin Evening Posts.

Resolved, (on his leaving the chair) That our thanks be given to captain Evans, for his readiness and zeal in convening us on this occasion.

Signed by Order,

JAMES HENNESSY, Sec,

COUNTY

COUNTY of DUBLIN LIGHT DRAGOONS.

*At a Meeting of the County Dublin Light Dragoons, on Parade,
April the 14th, 1782.*

The Right Hon. LUKE GARDINER, Colonel, in the
Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the King, Lords, and
Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make
laws to bind this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That until the indisputable rights
of the different branches of the legislature of this kingdom
shall be fully recognized, harmony between Great Britain and
Ireland can never be compleatly established.

Resolved unanimously, That any man or body of men in
either kingdom, who, at this crisis, can hesitate at a recog-
nition of our rights, must be considered as holding sentiments
tending to separate Great Britain and Ireland, and inimical
to the tranquility of both countries.

Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of the
spirit and unanimity which have been so decisively manifested
by all ranks of men in this country, as well armed as unarmed,
in the assertion of our natural rights, and we pledge ourselves
to pursue every measure which shall most effectually, and most
speedily tend to the perfect freedom and establishment of the
constitution of Ireland.

Signed, LUKE GARDINER, Colonel.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be
given to Colonel Gardiner, for his indefatigable attention to
the corps, and his zealous conduct this day in the chair.

WILLIAM BROOME, Major.



COUNTY of LONGFORD.

EDGORTHSTOWN BATTALION.

At a Meeting of the Edgorthstown Battalion, April 14, 1782.

Captain SLATOR in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That Ireland is an independent
kingdom, and that we conceive ourselves called on, at this
interesting

interesting crisis, by the duty we owe ourselves, and our country, publicly to declare, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland; and that we cannot admit the interference of any foreign legislature whatever, without a manifest violation of our unalienable rights.

Resolved unanimously, That as men of honour, and Volunteers, we will ardently co-operate with the patriot sons of Ireland, in every constitutional mode of emancipating our country from impolitic restraints, and establishing on a firm and permanent basis, unequivocal freedom.

Resolved unanimously, That a declaration of rights from our legislature is expedient and necessary, as tending in its operation to prevent future innovations on the part of England, and future jealousies on the part of Ireland, and consequently to unite the sister nations in the indissoluble bands of reciprocal interest and affection.

Resolved unanimously, That the powers claimed by the Privy Council of England and Ireland, under, or under colour and pretence of a law passed in 10 Henry 7, commonly called Poyning's Law, are inimical to the constitutional rights Ireland, and require immediate and effectual redress.

Resolved unanimously, That a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is, or may be a dangerous instrument in the hand of the executive power, and of militates against the constitutional security of the laws.

Resolved unanimously, That as the fountain of justice is liable to taint and pollution from the dependence of Judges, which may gradually corrupt and overspread the body politic, the appointment of Judges should be during good behaviour, which would infuse a new portion of vigour into the constitution, and enable it to bear those infirmities, if such there are, which elude a remedy.

Resolved unanimously, That the virtuous *few* in both houses of parliament, who have uniformly supported the great constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland, deserve our warmest and most heartfelt thanks, which we request they may receive, as a testimony of our love and admiration, for those worthies, who spurn the corruption and venality of the times, and dare to tread the neglected path of public virtue.

Resolved unanimously, That in the genuine spirit of liberty, sound policy, and toleration, we contemplate with peculiar satisfaction, the relaxation of the penal laws against our *Re-*
men

man Catholic fellow-subjects, for which we conceive the causes have long since ceased to operate, and joyfully hail the dawn of national prosperity when Ireland, aided and invigorated by the united virtues of commercial, political, and religious freedom, shall raise her head among the nations; and reign the queen of arts and arms.

Resolved unanimously, That as freeholders and electors, we have a right to an unbiassed choice of representatives, and that the exigencies of the times call loudly for the honest exertion of this right; we therefore pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, that private friendship and connection shall not influence our choice of representatives, at the ensuing election; and that no candidate shall have our countenance and support, who does not solemnly engage to defend the rights of his country with unwearied effort, and faithfully adhere to the instructions of his constituents, from whose delegated power, his senatorial power and consequence are solely derived.

Resolved unanimously, That we are attached by every tie of interest and affection to England, our sister kingdom; are loyal to our gracious Sovereign, and devoted to the service of our country; and that we will defend the King of Ireland, his crown and dignity, from every attempt of his natural enemies, with unshaken resolution, and with an animated glow of sentiment and spirit, which those only know and feel, who have souls capable of venerating freedom, and are determined to be free.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by the Chairman to our Colonel, Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Bart. accompanied by our most grateful and cordial thanks, for his steady and persevering attention to this corps.

W. H. SLATOR, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be presented to Captain Slator, for his propriety of conduct in the chair, and for his general activity and vigilance, as an officer in the Edgworthstown Battalion.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Westmeath Journal.

Signed by order,

ALEX. BOND, Secretary, &c.

COUNTY

COUNTY of CORK MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Cork, convened pursuant to Advertisment, at the County Court-house, on Monday the 15th Day of April, 1782.

ABRAHAM MORRIS, Esq; High Sheriff, in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That national and independent legislation, being the fundamental right of the subject, without the establishment of which we can never hope for security to our persons or our properties, is an object of great national importance; and that we will assert, promote, maintain, and defend, this and all other our natural and inherent rights, by every constitutional means; solemnly declaring, That no power or state whatsoever, hath any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That the independence of the Judges, by holding their appointments *quam diu se bene gesserint*, would be an additional security to this kingdom, for the impartial administration of justice.

Resolved unanimously, That any restriction on the commerce of this kingdom, imposed by proclamation, particularly during the sitting of parliament, is injurious to the spirit of our constitution, hath been pernicious, and may be fatal to our trade.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend such a modification or explanation of the law called Poyning's law, as will entirely destroy that power assumed by the Privy Council, of altering or suppressing the bills of the Irish parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration, is repugnant to every idea of liberty, unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That as we hold the interests and connections of Great Britain and Ireland to be inseparable, so we also declare their legislatures to be distinct and independent of each other; and that the security and firmness of the former, can only be maintained by the establishment of the latter.

Resolved, That the immense sums of which this country is annually drained, by remittances to the absentees of this kingdom,

dom, constitute a grievance worthy the consideration of the legislature.

Resolved unanimously, That the commons of Ireland are the keepers of the purse of the nation, and as such ought to deal out the public money with frugality and œconomy; and that a prodigal expenditure of the public money, in unmerited pensions and unnecessary places, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That the debt of this nation amounts to an enormous sum; the revenue not being adequate to the public expences, œconomy and retrenchment are essentially necessary to prevent new burdens being imposed on the subject.

Resolved unanimously, That the encreasing the salaries annexed to old and uselefs places, and the creation of new ones with large salaries, tend to augment the undue influence of the crown, by encreasing the power of corruption in the hands of government.

Resolved unanimously, That we will not vote for any person as our representative in parliament, who will not zealously support these our resolutions, and persevere in seeking a constitutional redress of these our grievances.

Resolved unanimously, That we rejoice in the spirit and religious toleration which now prevails through all ranks of people, and contemplate with satisfaction the national advantages likely to arise from the liberal indulgences which that spirit has extended to our Roman Catholic brethren.

Resolved unanimously, That we are fully determined to give every encouragement and every proper preference to the manufactures of our country, but that such encouragement and such preference shall be proportionable to the industry, the integrity and good conduct of our manufacturers.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to James Bernard, Esq; for his steady and constant, though unsuccessful, exertions in seeking redress for those our grievances.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. Lord Kinsborough, James Kearney, and Francis Bernard, Esqrs. for their steady and constant, though unsuccessful, exertions in seeking redress for those our grievances.

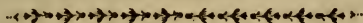
Resolved, That the above resolutions be transmitted by the High Sheriff of this county, as instructions to our representatives for their conduct in parliament.

ABRAHAM MORRIS, High Sheriff.

The

The High Sheriff having left the Chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county meeting be given to Abraham Morris, Esq; our high Sheriff, for his readiness in convening the county, and for his very impartial and proper conduct in the chair.



To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Cork, convened pursuant to Advertisement by the High Sheriff, at the County Court-house, on Monday the 15th of April, 1782.

THERE is no event of my life has given me more satisfaction, nor can any honour be so flattering to me, as that I have now received; your public approbation of my parliamentary conduct (more particularly so, as the period is now approaching when you will have it in your power to confer further obligations on those whose principles you approve). Be assured I shall never lose sight of that duty, which I consider myself bound by every tie to support, I mean the just representation of the wishes of my countrymen. And though hitherto all efforts to recover our national rights, and to obtain redress of the grievances we labour under, have proved ineffectual, the time, I hope, is now arrived, when corruption, overawed by the virtue of the people, shall no longer dare to oppose their unanimous voice. And I trust, I may soon have it in my power to congratulate you, on the full enjoyment of all your constitutional and commercial privileges.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your much obliged,

And devoted humble

Servant.

KINGSBOROUGH.



LORHA RANGERS.

At a Meeting of the Lorha Rangers, held at Lorha, in the County of Tipperary, on the 16th Day of April, 1782.

Captain WALSH in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the perfect emancipation of this country, ought to be the primary object of each individual

vidual, and should not only be wished, but sought for, by every patriotic and constitutional mode.

Resolved, That we conceive it a duty we owe to our country, to disavow the authority of any body of men, to make laws for this independent kingdom, save only, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and we pledge ourselves to our brother Volunteers, to co-operate with them in every effectual measure, for the establishments of our rights on the most permanent basis.

Resolved, That we shall be always ready to assist our Sovereign against his natural enemies.

Captain Walsh having left the Chair;

Resolved, That our most grateful thanks be returned to captain Walsh, for the propriety of his conduct as chairman, and to him and the other officers for their attention to the corps.

Signed by order,
ROB. PURCELL, Secretary.



K I N G's C O U N T Y.

BARONY of KILCOURSEY UNION.

At a Meeting of the Barony of Kilcoursey Union, held at Horse-leap, on Tuesday the 16th of April, 1782.

Major BAGOT in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously entered into :

RESOLVED, That we highly approve of the virtuous and patriotic resolutions of the Ulster Delegates, assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

Resolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will resist, with our lives and fortunes, the execution of any other laws, save those only that are enacted by the authority aforesaid.

Resolved, That we expect a full declaration of rights from our representatives in parliament.

Resolved, That we will co-operate with the Volunteer corps of this kingdom, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of grievances.

Resolved,

Resolved, As it was originally our wish, that the most liberal indulgence should be extended towards our Roman Catholic Brethren, we feel the most cordial satisfaction, at the removal of those penal restrictions they so long laboured under.

Signed by order,
JOSEPH HENDERSON, Sec.



*At a Meeting of the Independent Freeholders at Dundonald,
on Tuesday the 16th of April, 1782.*

ROBERT LAMBERT, Esq; in the Chair.

The following with many other patriotic toasts were drank,

THE King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; The Irish Volunteers; The friends of Ireland in the British parliament; The independent electors of the county of Antrim, and may the electors of the county of Down follow their patriotic example; Robert Stewart, Esq; only representative of the county of Down; equal liberty and commerce to Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, That this meeting be, and is hereby adjourned to the 18th of June next.

R. LAMBERT, Chairman.

Mr. Lambert having left the chair, and Mr. John Glenholme having taken it,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our chairman, for his politeness of conduct in the chair.

JOHN GLENHOLME.



*At a Meeting of the Ouzle Galley, at Dublin, 16th of April,
1782.*

THEO. THOMPSON, Esq; Captain, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are solely competent to make laws for the government

ment thereof, and that we will pay obedience to such laws only as have received, or shall receive their sanction.

Resolved, That the captain, officers, and crew of this Galley, will co-operate with their countrymen, in every constitutional effort, to support the just rights of Ireland, and to oppose the interference of any other legislature.

Resolved, That we view with the utmost satisfaction the late proceedings of the British House of Commons, which we conceive manifest a disposition to acknowledge the unquestionable rights of this country, and may happily afford the strongest cement to that connection of interests and warm affection between the two kingdoms, which we trust will have an uninterrupted and perpetual existence.

Resolved, That said resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, Saunders's and Faulkner's papers, and the Hibernian Journal.

Signed by order,

CHRIST. DEEY, Secretary.



CLONLONAN VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Clonlonan Light Infantry, at Moate, on Tuesday the 16th of April, 1782.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Colonel GEORGE CLIBBORNE in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we will steadily maintain, and strenuously support the principles of our original institution, the defence of our country against foreign enemies, the preservation of the public peace, and the protection of our constitutional freedom, rights, and privileges.

Resolved, That the sole power of enacting laws to bind this kingdom, is vested in the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, and that we will not, as Volunteers, or in any other capacity, enforce the execution of any laws, except such as have received that constitutional sanction.

Resolved, That it is essentially necessary, to repeal that part of the statute, commonly called Poyning's law, which uncon-

unconstitutionally vests a supreme legislative power in a Privy Council, composed of persons who do not derive their authority from the nobility of their birth, or the free suffrages of the people.

Resolved, That as it is highly expedient, to secure the dignity and independence of those, who are intrusted with the administration of justice, a law ought to be enacted, limiting the duration of the Judges commissions, by their good behaviour, and not by the arbitrary will of the crown.

Resolved, That since considerable sums of money, are annually remitted out of this kingdom to absentees, reason and justice require, that those who draw so much wealth out of the nation, should, by a tax, be obliged to contribute their proportion to the support and defence of it.

Resolved, That a repeal of these penal statutes, that oppress our brethren, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, would be a just, as well as necessary measure.

Resolved, That as a perpetual standing army must ever be considered as a very dangerous institution in a land of liberty, that a clause in our mutiny bill ought to be repealed, which unconstitutionally makes the military force, thereby established in this kingdom, perpetual.

Resolved, That we will on all occasions, co-operate with our brethren Volunteers, and with our countrymen in general, in every measure that our laws and constitution may authorise, and that may be judged requisite and necessary, in order to obtain a redress of grievances, with a full and explicit declaration and acknowledgment of the rights and privileges of this kingdom.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Westmeath Journal, the Dublin Evening Post, and Dublin Journal.

Signed by order,

J. ADAMSON, Secretary.

The Chairman having left the Chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps, be presented to our worthy Colonel, for his unwearied attention to us, and his truly patriotic, and upright conduct in the chair.

Signed by order of the corps,

J. ADAMSON, Secretary.

QUEEN'S

QUEEN'S COUNTY.

BORRIS-IN-OSSORY MEETING.

*At a Meeting of the Borris Rangers, 29 Members present,
April 16, 1782.*

JAMES STEPHENS, Esq; Captain Commandant, in the
Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we will, on every future election of members to serve in parliament, vote for such men, and those only, who, by their conduct in and out of parliament, give us sufficient reason to be convinced they will support the true interest of this nation, without being influenced by any honours or emoluments from government, and that they will attend to such instructions as they may receive from their constituents.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be given to our worthy member, John Warburton, Esq; for his conduct in parliament, by voting on every question for the true interest of his country.

Resolved (nine dissentient, and the Chairman not having poled) That the thanks of this corps be given to our worthy member, Charles Henry Coote, Esq; for his virtuous conduct in parliament, in support of his country.

JAMES STEPHENS, Chairman.

Captain Stephens having quit the Chair,

Resolved unanimously, That our thanks be given to him for so spiritedly expressing our sentiments, by proposing the first resolution above-mentioned, at a meeting of Delegates of the Queen's County Volunteers, at Maryborough, the 3d of April instant.

Resolved unanimously, That our thanks be given to the Offerlane Blues, Offory True Blues, Cullina Rangers, Palmer's Rathdowny Volunteers, Rosenallis Volunteers, and Stradbally Volunteers, who supported said resolutions by their Delegates on said day.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Leinster Journal.

Signed by order,

SAMUEL ODLUM, Secretary.

COLERAINE VOLUNTEERS.

At a general Meeting of the Coleraine Battalion, the 16th of April, 1782, in Coleraine, commanded by Colonel Richardson.

Lieut. Colonel CANNING in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we strictly adhere to the principles of our first association, the defence of our King and country, and most excellent constitution, against all foreign and domestic enemies.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, met at Dungannon the 15th of February last, which assert the constitutional rights of this kingdom, and that we will strenuously co-operate with our fellow-citizens and Volunteers, to obtain an explicit acknowledgment, and secure the full enjoyment of those rights.

Resolved, That the resolutions of the Grand Jury and freeholders of the city and county of Londonderry, assembled by the High Sheriffs at the last assizes, deserve our approbation, and shall have our firm support.

Resolved, That being united to Great Britain by blood and affection, and attached to our gracious Sovereign by the purest loyalty, we wish ever to continue so, confident, that upon such a union depends the strength and happiness of both kingdoms.

Resolved, That these our unanimous resolutions be communicated by our Chairman, Paul Canning, Esq; to James Dawson, Esq; Secretary of the Dungannon association, and that he do inform him, that we heartily accept of their invitation to become members of that respectable body; and also that these resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be transmitted to Colonel Richardson, for assembling the battalion this day, and for his constant politeness and attention to it.

PAUL CANNING.

Lieutenant Colonel Canning having left the Chair, and Major Lyle taken it;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be also given to our worthy Chairman, for his polite and very proper behaviour in the chair.

COUNTY of WESTMEATH.

At a Meeting of the Barony of Fore Cavalry, and Finae Rangers, on Wednesday the 17th of April, 1782.

Colonel WILLIAM GORE, of the Finae Rangers, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That as freeholders and Volunteers, highly approving of the patriotic and liberal resolutions, entered in to by the Delegates assembled at Dungannon and Balinasloe, we will cheerfully co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining an effectual redress of those grievances complained of therein.

Resolved, That we will with zeal and firmness, in our several capacities, maintain the just rights of this kingdom, and promote the peace, harmony, and good order of this county.

Resolved, That we will support such gentlemen only, as candidates to represent this county in parliament, as have, and will continue uniformly to maintain the independency and commercial rights of Ireland.

Colonel Gore having left the chair, and Major Webb having taken it ;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to colonel Gore, for his very proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Westmeath Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

GEORGE KERR, Secretary.



HOLLYWOOD VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the First Hollywood Company of Volunteers, at Cultras on the 17th of April, 1782.

Captain KENNEDY in the Chair.

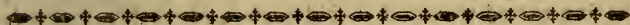
RESOLVED, That we think it necessary to adopt the resolutions of the Delegates, assembled at Dungannon on the
15th

15th of February last, in as much as they breathe sentiments of such constitutional importance as claim our warmest approbation, and that we will co-operate with the said association, in establishing, on a permanent basis, the just rights of Ireland.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be transmitted to the Secretary of the Dungannon meeting, and published three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order of the company,

JOHN KENNEDY, Captain.



LEINSTER MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Delegates from One Hundred and thirty-nine Corps of Volunteers of the Province of Leinster, at Guild-Hall, in the Tholsel, Dublin, the 17th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to public Notice.

Colonel HENRY FLOOD in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our patriotic and worthy brethren who met at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, for having originated, and also, to the provincial meeting of Connaught, and to the rest of our brethren, for having adopted that mode of redress for the national grievances, which, through the virtue and perseverance of our independent representatives, we now confide, will be fully and speedily carried into effect.

Resolved unanimously, That we feel ourselves called upon to declare our satisfaction in the unanimous sense of the House of Commons, expressed in favour of the rights of Ireland, in their address to the King, yesterday, as amended by Col. Grattan; and, that we will support them therein with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Colonel Grattan, for his extraordinary exertions and perseverance in asserting the rights of Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That the following thirteen commanders of corps be appointed a standing committee of Delegates from this province, to correspond and commune with
the

the other provincial committees or Delegates of Ireland, to wit:

Earl of Granard,	Col. Montgomery Lyons,
Earl of Aldborough,	Col. Parnell,
Sir Wm. Parsons, Bart.	Lieut. Col. Lee,
Col. Flood,	Capt. Richard Neville,
Col. Grattan,	Capt. W. T. Smyth,
Col. Talbot,	Capt. H. Gorge.
Col. Burton,	

Resolved unanimously, That the first review of such corps of this province, as choose to attend, be at Dublin on Monday the 3d of June next: and Delegates from forty corps having agreed to attend at said review, they then proceeded to ballot for a reviewing General, when the right hon. General Earl of Charlemont was elected; at the same time, Major Gudgeon was chosen exercising officer of the infantry, and Major Broom of the cavalry.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend it, that the second review in this province be at Ballewstown, on Monday the 15th day of July next; and, the third review at Carlow, on Monday the 12th of August next.

Resolved unanimously, That all the corps who have sent Delegates to this meeting, and have ballotted for a reviewing General for the review at Dublin, shall receive instructions from Lord Charlemont, as to all matters relative to the said review.

Resolved unanimously, That an officer's guard from each corps in the city and county of Dublin, be mounted at Lord Charlemont's, in rotation, at ten o'clock each morning, for fourteen days preceding the review, and two days after.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the several Volunteer corps of the city and county of Dublin, who lined the streets for the Delegates this day, and to Major Monk, and the Light Infantry of the Dublin Volunteers, who mounted guard at Guild-hall during the sitting of the Delegates therein.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to John Talbot Ashenhurst, Esq; for the great trouble he has been at as Secretary to this meeting, and the attention always paid by him to the Volunteer cause in general.

HENRY FLOOD, Chairman.

The Earl of Arran having taken the chair, it was resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to

to Colonel Henry Flood, for the propriety of his conduct this day in the chair, and for the virtuous and patriotic exertions of his great abilities in support of the rights of Ireland.

Signed by order,

J. T. ASHENHURST, Secretary,
Associated Corps, Province of Leinster.

Colonel Flood, and the Delegates, having since waited upon the right hon. the Earl of Charlemont, and acquainted him of his being chosen reviewing General for the 3d day of June next, his Lordship was pleased to return the following answer :

Gentlemen,

WITH renewed and redoubled gratitude, I most cheerfully accept the new honour which your goodness has conferred upon me, assuring you, that however flattering this repetition of your favours must necessarily be to every feeling of my heart, it is principally dear to me, when I consider it as an assurance of the continuation of that which constitutes one chief happiness of my life, *your approbation.*

I have the honour to be,

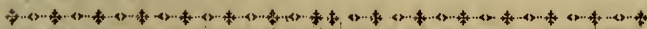
Gentlemen,

Your most obliged, most faithful, and,

April 18,
1782.

Most obedient humble servant,

CHARLEMONT.



DELVIN VOLUNTEERS.

WE, the Delvin Volunteers, think it necessary to concur with our brethren of other independent corps, in declaring, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the sole power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.

In support of this great constitutional principle, we pledge ourselves to each other, firmly to unite, trusting at the same time, that, in the present disposition of public affairs, such prudent, liberal measures will be adopted, as may promote a lasting harmony between Great Britain and Ireland, two nations, which an equal participation of constitutional rights would inseparably connect.

Signed by order of said corps,

April 18, 1782.

THO. SMYTH, Colonel,

STRAD.

STRADBALLY VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Stradbally Horse, held on the 18th Day of April, 1782.

Lieut. Col. COSBY in the Chair.

IT was unanimously resolved, That we do most chearfully accede to the truly virtuous and patriotic resolutions and address of the Ulster Delagates assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and that we will, to the fullest extent, co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining the most speedy and effectual redress of those grievances they so judiciously point out.

Resolved unanimously, That we feel the most perfect satisfaction at the relaxation of the severe laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.

THOMAS COSBY.

Captain Purcell in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to Lieut. Col. Cosby, for his great attention to the corps on this and every occasion, and for convening this meeting.

Signed by order,

P. WALLIS, Secretary.



COUNTY of FERMANAGH.

At a Meeting of the True Blue Battalion, commanded by Colonel Archdall, April 19th, 1782.

Captain LENDRUM in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we highly approve of the resolutions of the Dungannon meeting, and do declare, such spirited and constitutional measures shall always have our warmest support, and request our worthy colonel will communicate these our resolutions to captain Dawson.

Resolved, That the thanks of this battalion be presented to the virtuous minority of the house of commons, who have supported the great constitutional rights of this kingdom.

Resolved,

Resolved, That his Majesty's gracious message to the House of Commons of Ireland, signifying his royal pleasure, that all complaints and jealousies of his loyal Irish subjects should be removed, meets our warmest thanks, and that we will support him against all his natural enemies, with our lives and fortunes.

Signed by order,
ROBERT COWAN, Secretary.

WICKLOW FORESTERS.

At a Meeting of the Representatives of the Independent Wicklow Foresters, Cavalry, and Infantry, at Wicklow, the 20th of April, 1782.

Colonel HAYES in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That though we had conceived the general voice of this county in the unanimous resolutions passed at last lent assizes, had fully spoken our sentiments, yet, perceiving that several respectable corps have thought it proper to remove every possible doubt of their principles, by speaking particularly for themselves; and being fully persuaded, that subjects, by acquiring a knowledge in the use of arms, do in no respect relinquish their right to a free discussion of public measures we do now declare, That no power on earth, has a power to make laws to bind this kingdom, but the King, with the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That we approve of and admire the spirit, moderation, and liberality of sentiment, which appear in the resolutions of the Ulster Delegates, assembled at Dunganon the 15th of February, and will co-operate with them and the other associated corps, in every constitutional mode of redressing the grievances of this kingdom; felicitating at the same time, our brother Volunteers, in the prospect of speedily obtaining these desirable ends, from the unanimous resolution of our senate, on Mr. Grattan's spirited and truly patriotic motion; from the parental attention his Majesty has graciously shewn his loyal subjects of Ireland, in his message to both houses of parliament, and, from his choice of a ministry, who appear to be the friends of the people.

SAMUEL HAYES.

Colonel Hayes having quit the chair, Captain Foulkes was voted in.

Resolved unanimously, That colonel Hayes be appointed our Delegate, to appear for us the next provincial meeting in Dublin, and to correspond with the Ulster association.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to colonel Hayes, for his very proper and spirited conduct in the chair, and for his unremitting attention at all times, to the honour of our associated corps.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Dublin Journal, and the Dublin Evening Post, and copies of them be transmitted to the Secretaries of the Ulster and Leinster Delegates.

ARCH. HAMILTON FOULKES.

CLONMEL INDEPENDENTS.

At a full Meeting of the Clonmel Independents, the 2nd of April, 1782.

Colonel BAGWELL in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the unfeigned and most heartfelt thanks of this corps be given to Henry Grattan, Esq; for the steady and invariable exertion of his distinguished abilities, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of the several grievances under which Ireland has long laboured, which we now trust will be speedily effected, to the utmost of our wishes, in the establishment of all our constitutional rights.

Resolved unanimously, That in a particular degree we conceive ourselves called upon to render him every possible acknowledgment for his motion in parliament, on Tuesday the 16th inst. whereby he has gloriously obtained measures that will for ever perpetuate the name of GRATAN in the annals of this kingdom, and in the hearts of a grateful people.

Resolved, That the above resolutions and following address be transmitted to Mr. Grattan, by the Chairman, and published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Clonmel Gazette.

JOHN BAGWELL, Chairman.

Clonmel, April 21, 1782.

S I R,

WITH inexpressible satisfaction, we took the earliest opportunity of returning you our unfeigned thanks, for that unremitting ardour, and unshaken perseverance you manifested on every occasion, in support of the liberty of your country, and by which, we hope, you have compleatly emancipated it.

Every thing to form a perfect character, the 16th of April, 1782, has shewn in the person of a Grattan, whose name the present, and after ages, must revere as the redeemer of his country.

JOHN BAGWELL, Chairman.

To the Clonmel Independents.

Gentlemen,

THIS testimony of your approbation is perhaps much more than I have deserved, but what, I think, I will not forfeit.

I hope our constitutional rights will be speedily established; it will be our own fault if they are not so; as the establishment is to be final, so must it be full.

I need not add more words to assure you of my regard and respect for your sentiments and your privileges.

I am, Gentlemen,

With many thanks,

Your humble and

Obedient fervant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

— — — — —

To John Bagwell, Esq.

S I R,

I RECEIVED your most obliging and flattering letter, accompanied with the resolutions of the Clonmel Independents.

I fend my answer, unequal to express my sense of the honour they have done me. Permit me to return you my most particular thanks.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your most obedient

And humble servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

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EYRECOURT BUFFS.

*At a full Meeting of the Eyrecourt Buffs, held the 2nd of April,
1782.*

Col. WALTER LAWRENCE in the Chair.

The following address was unanimously agreed on, and ordered to be presented by Peter Lawrence, Esq; Captain of a company in said corps, to that distinguished citizen, Henry Grattan, Esq.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

S I R,

HISTORY, both sacred and profane, informs us, that there have been men born to perplex and scourge the human race; but we likewise know, that all-bounteous Heaven has often, in pity to our sufferings, blessed us with assertors of our rights; blessed us with those, who, fraught with Heaven-born virtue, and endowed with extraordinary talents, have boldly stepped forward in behalf of the people of this kingdom, and unmasked that fatal species of tyranny, which, assuming the awful veil of law, has for a century past not only broke through all the barriers of justice, but in defiance of sense and reason, pretended to bind the people of this country by acts of a foreign legislature, thus falsely and imperiously legalising oppression.

Such a man, Sir, has Ireland found in Henry Grattan. Born to be the instrument of your country's salvation, you met corruption on her own ground, who, coward like, hid her guilty head, and shrunk from the splendor, dignity, and irresistible force of your eloquence and virtue.

That army of patriots, Sir, the Volunteers of Ireland, who stand unrivalled in the history of mankind, have declared the rights of Ireland.

Led by their glorious example, and influenced by their support, her parliament has declared them; the whole kingdom has, with one voice, declared them; who then, or what can deny them?

The torch of freedom is lighted, and illumines the Irish nation, from the peer to the poorest peasant; nor is it ever to be quenched, but in the blood of its inhabitants.

All

All Europe, Sir, the friends of legal liberty in every part of the globe, have seen and admired the settled, calm, but determined resolution of a brave people, in behalf of that first of sublunary blessings, and will rejoice in that spirit and unanimity which has put a period to the bondage of a century, and given justice a decisive victory over wrongs; a victory, which by restoring us to our ancient, and unalienable rights, and re-establishing our constitution on its true principles, must raise these kingdoms to the highest point of happiness and glory.

And here, Sir, permit us to congratulate, not only you and the people of this country, but those of every part of the British empire, on the choice of servants, which our beloved Sovereign has been lately pleased to make; as they appear determined (so far as we are hitherto enabled to judge) to make justice, equality, and œconomy, the settled basis of their administration, disdaining those mean, evasive, and temporising arts, and disdaining that abominable system of corruption and boundless extravagance, which reduced the people to indigence, by supporting a numerous host of mercenary hirelings, and sycophants of power, at their expence; engines of infamy, who, having no will of their own, sacrificed honour, liberty, and every thing that was dear to men, at the altar of the ministerial high-priest. But enough of such noxious beings. May you, Sir, live long to enjoy the most perfect felicities the human mind can possess—the consciousness of having done right, and the blessings of the people; and may they, on their parts, regardless of any other consideration but their country's good, ever prove themselves worthy of the blessings of a free constitution, rejecting on every occasion, with becoming indignation, those miscreants, those slavish tools, who have, on former occasions, betrayed their interests; and may they send those, and those only, to future parliaments, who, however inferior to you in abilities, will yet imitate your virtues.

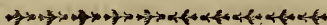
WALTER LAWRENCE, Chairman.

Colonel Lawrence having left the chair, and Chapt. Charles Groome taken it,

Resolved, That our sincere thanks be presented to our worthy Chairman, Colonel Walter Lawrence, not only for his constant attention to this corps, and his attendance as our Delegate at the meeting at Ballinasloe, the 15th of last March, but also for the zeal which he has uniformly manifested in support of the rights and liberties of this country.

Ordered,

Ordered, That the above resolutions and address, with Mr. Grattan's answer, be published in the Dublin and Galway Evening Posts.



To the Eyrecourt Buffs.

Gentlemen,

THE warmth, generosity, and force with which you express your sentiments ; that firm and undisguised manner in which you assert your rights ; the liberality with which you encourage one who among others has endeavoured to serve you, demand, on my part, the warmest acknowledgments.

A generous country overpays her advocates, and binds them to her service for ever.

You ought to have many friends, for your cause is just and your sentiments exalted.

I do entirely coincide with you in the most sanguine expectations from those councils which his Majesty has called to his assistance; a government that shall found itself on privilege, an administration that shall stand on reduction, must be universally popular, and irresistibly powerful.

Europe has seen with approbation our efforts for freedom ; when we shall have obtained that freedom, she will behold the same nation raising her government above the necessity of corruption, by an emulation of independent support,—and thus shall we prove that privilege is the foundation of order, and purity the strongest engine of power.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble, and

Obedient servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.



WATERFORD UNION.

At a Meeting of the Waterford Union, April 21, 1782.

Secretary SAMUEL DRAPES in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we conceive the great mental abilities of Henry Grattan, Esq; guided as they have been by immutable integrity of heart, and exercised solely for the advantage of this kingdom, are likely to prove the primary

primary cause of measures fraught with the best of consequences to us, and to our latest posterity.

Therefore, resolved unanimously, That this troop (as Irishmen interested in favour of their dearest rights) do return their most grateful and unfeigned thanks to Henry Grattan, Esq; for his steady and uniform parliamentary conduct in support of those measures.

Resolved unanimously, That Henry Grattan, Esq; be admitted an honorary member of this troop.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Thomas Christmas, Esq; our Captain, and that he be requested to present them to Mr. Grattan.

Resolved unanimously, That our Secretary be ordered to have these resolutions published in the Dublin Evening Post, and in the Waterford Chronicle.

Signed by order,
SAM. DRAPES, Sec. and Chairman.



INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, April 21, 1782.

Major CANIER in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to:

To Colonel HENRY GRATTAN.

S I R,

AT a time when every voice is raised to thank you, who ever stood foremost in the cause of liberty and your country, we, who have the honour of serving under your command, would ill deserve so high a distinction, were we not to add our suffrages to those of an applauding and grateful people, who press forward with a jealous emulation, to express their feelings to you, who have so often, and at length so successfully combated for the rights of this injured nation.

Permit us, therefore, Sir, to say, that we are truly sensible of the many obligations we are under to you, for so nobly introducing, and with such manly eloquence, unequivocally defending the rights of this country; and beg leave to assure

fare you, that, as citizens and foldiers, we fhall ever remem-
ber your unceafing exertions with pleafure.

We know your heart too well to urge you to persevere; all we have to hope is, that your life may long be spared to your country, to watch over that liberty you were so honourably distinguished in asserting.

SAMUEL CANIER, Chairman.

Resolved, That our Chairman and a committee do wait on Colonel Grattan with the above address, and that it be published, with his answer, in the Dublin Evening Post, Saunders's News-Letter, and Hibernian Journal.

The Rev. Mr. Miller having taken the Chair,

Resolved unanimously, That our thanks be given to Major Canier, for his constant attention to the discipline of the corps, and his proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,

C. B. KIPPAX, Secretary.



The committee having waited upon Col. Grattan, he returned the following Answer :

To the Independent Dublin Volunteers.

Gentlemen,

THE principles which are now likely to become law and constitution, are those which have ever distinguished your corps: I have many reasons which incline me to a personal, as well as a political predilection in favour of the Independent Dublin Volunteers; my knowledge of your sentiments, makes your approbation particularly acceptable.

I think I will not forfeit your esteem; I am sure you will always command mine; and that we both shall continue in these sentiments towards each other, is my ardent wish, and sincere opinion.

I am, gentlemen,

With great respect and thanks,

Your most obedient servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

D O W N

DOWN MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants and Freeholders of the Parish of Saintfield, and part of the Parishes of Killinchy and Killeny, County of Down, assembled at Saintfield the 22d of April, 1782, pursuant to public Notice.

FRANCIS PRICE, Esq; in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

1. **RESOLVED**, That we highly approve of, and cordially accede to the resolutions of the Delegates assembled at Dunningannon, on the 15th of February last, as breathing the genuine spirit of moderate patriotism, loyalty and liberty.

2. Resolved, That as the body of the people is the most essential and important part of the community, the strength and support of government, and as it is the duty of every individual to know and assert his own rights, and those of his country, so we, as a part of this great body, are earnestly desirous to co-operate with the real friends of Ireland, in every constitutional measure which may tend to secure its freedom and prosperity, and procure a speedy and effectual redress of national grievances.

3. Resolved, That we will not support any man at the ensuing election, but such as are known to be men of real integrity, and friends to the King and constitution of Ireland.

4. Resolved, That Francis Price, Esq; Nicholas Price, Esq; Rev. Thomas Birch, John Barnett, Andrew Todd, John Todd, Alexander Gordon, James Wallace, Samuel McBurney, John Coffey, John Broadley, Samuel Broadley, and James Magee, be appointed a committee, who are empowered to call future meetings to act in concert with other associations.

5. Resolved, That these resolutions be twice published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

FRANCIS PRICE.

Mr. Price having left the chair, and Mr. Barnett taken it,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, Francis Price, Esq; for his very polite and impartial conduct in the chair.

JOHN BARNETT.

COUNTY

C O U N T Y of D O W N.

At a Meeting of a very considerable Number of Freeholders and principal Inhabitants of the Parishes of Tullylish and Donaghclony, on Tuesday the 23d of April, 1782.

The Rev. JOHN SHERRARD in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That at the present alarming and very important situation of public affairs, we consider it as a duty of the first magnitude which we owe to our country, ourselves, and to posterity, to join with our virtuous countrymen and fellow-citizens, in every constitutional measure, which may be deemed most effectual to obtain, secure and perpetuate our civil and religious liberties.

Resolved, That it is with particular pleasure, and heart-felt joy, we behold the unexampled spirit, the virtuous deportment, and the temper and steady exertions of the Volunteers of Ireland at large in behalf of their country ; and though we have not the honour of being enrolled in their number, yet we are ready to stand or fall by their side, as long as they continue to pursue the same line of conduct which they have hitherto done.

Resolved, That the resolutions agreed upon, and entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, at Dunganon, the 15th of February last, and the subsequent address from the committee by them appointed, do meet with our warmest approbation and support ; and that the tribute of our thanks is due, and is hereby given to the gentlemen who first planned and convened that meeting, to the Delegates who composed it, and to every other approving corps.

Resolved, That our warmest thanks are due, and are hereby given to our worthy representative, Robert Stewart, Esq; for his former steady and upright conduct in the honourable House of Commons.

Resolved, That it is a reproach to so respectable a county as that of Down, as well as a public loss, to have but one representative in the House of Commons ; and that, in order to remove this reproach, and redress this grievance, we hold ourselves ready, the first proper opportunity, to invite and support any gentleman who may be deemed properly qualified
to

to represent us, and will engage to attend upon his duty, to hearken to our instructions, and at all times to support the constitutional rights of the nation at large.

Ordered, That the above resolutions be signed by our Chairman, and published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

Signed by order;
JOHN SHERRARD.

*At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other principal Members
of the ancient Congregation of Broad Island, held at Bal-
lycarry, in the County of Antrim, on Tuesday the 23^d of
April, 1782.*

The Rev. JOHN BANKHEAD in the Chair.

The following resolutions were agreed to; without a dissenting voice:

11. **T**HAT we are fully convinced, that indifference to the prosperity of the nation, ill becomes any individual or body of individuals; with heart-felt pleasure therefore, we behold the exertions of our fellow-subjects in this kingdom, to restore and secure our national rights. And that, notwithstanding the chimerical and ambitious dreams of sovereignty over us as a nation, which darken the understandings, chill the affections, and fetter the policy of some of the inhabitants of Britain, we think it our duty to love and regard all the inhabitants of Britain as our fellow-subjects, and no more than our fellow-subjects; and we think it their duty to love and regard the inhabitants of Ireland, as their fellow-subjects, and no less than their fellow-subjects.

2d. That as subjects of Britain and Ireland's King, we feel a joy, which patriotism and loyalty, by their combined power, excite; upon learning that his Majesty, by a late auspicious and most gracious message to the commons of Ireland, hath expressed his concern for, and required a statement of our national grievances; his royal and paternal heart anxiously wishing their removal.

3d. That a late statement of national grievances, in the Commons House of Parliament, by that honour to his coun-

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try, Mr. Grattan, appears to us a full and well timed statement—well timed, for it was immediate; and full, for their removal brings Irish policy within the reach of Hibernia's arm.

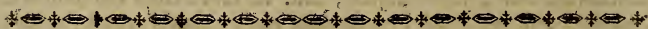
4th. That the thanks of this meeting be, and hereby are most respectfully offered to Mr. Grattan, for his statement of the grievances of the people of Ireland; to Mr. Brownlow, for seconding the amendment; and to all the other members present for their unanimous support.

5th. That an upright parliament is, at all times, a blessing to the community.

6th. That uprightness in electors, as it merits, so it bids fair for an upright representation.

7th. That, as a part of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Antrim, we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, to use our best endeavours to have representatives in the next parliament; and with this view, our Chairman, with Messrs. James Steel, James Sillyman, Thomas Horsborough, James Yule, Roger Carally, John Lusk, William Taylor, John Horsborough, James Graham, James Farle, John Campbell, Alexander Neilson, and James Hoey, are hereby appointed a committee (five to be a quorum) to call meetings as occasion shall require, and to communicate with other committees in neighbouring parishes: this meeting having it much at heart to serve, in our small circle, the important ends of the Dungannon meeting, to which we conceive the publications of their committee of the 6th and 16th inst. not a little subservient.

Signed by order,
JOHN BANKHEAD, Chairman.



SAINTFIELD LIGHT INFANTRY.

At a Meeting of the Saintfield Light Infantry, April 24, 1782.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we highly approve of, and heartily accede to the spirited resolutions entered into by the Delegates, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February last.

Resolved,

Resolved, That our thanks are due to those men who have so strenuously supported and maintained our rights in parliament.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Belfast News-Letter.

NICHOLAS PRICE, Captain.



COUNTY of CAVAN VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Representatives of the Corps of the County of Cavan Volunteers, convened by order of Colonel Enery, their Commanding Officer, at Cavan, the 24th of April, 1782.

THEO. CLEMENTS in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the Chairman and Delegates assembled at Dungannon, the 15th of February last, for admitting us a part of that body, though not represented at that meeting, and for their very polite letter in answer to one they received from the Volunteers of this county, dated the 12th of said month; and for their particular attention, in having communicated to us the resolutions entered into at said meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That we do entirely approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster Volunteers entered into at the Dungannon meeting, the 15th of February last.

Resolved, That Colonel Enery, Colonel Stuart, Colonel Montgomery, and Colonel Theophilus Clements, are appointed Delegates to meet and consult with the Delegates of the Dungannon meeting, and those of the different corps of Volunteers of this kingdom, on all legal and constitutional methods of obtaining the end proposed by that meeting.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by our Secretary, to Captain James Dawson, Secretary to the Ulster Volunteers, and published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Ulster Journal.

THEO. CLEMENTS, Chairman.

The Chairman having left the Chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy Chairman, Colonel Theo. Clements, for his polite and proper conduct at said meeting.

Signed by order,

JOHN BALL, Secretary.

LOUGHAL MEETING.

At a numerous Meeting of the Freeholders and Volunteers of the Manor and Parish of Loughal, assembled in the Parish Church, on Thursday the 25th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to Notice.

ARTHUR GRAHAM, Esq; in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That at this important crisis, it is the duty of all descriptions of men, to declare publicly and unequivocally their sentiments, touching the grand fundamental and constitutional rights of this kingdom.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the iron hand of power, hath long oppressed and degraded the inhabitants of this kingdom, they have, nevertheless, been distinguished, not more by their unexampled exertions for the peace and defence of their country, than for their unshaken attachment and loyalty to his majesty's sacred person and government.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the spirit and moderation of the resolutions of the Ulster Delegates, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February last, and that we shall at all times be ready, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, to co-operate with them, and our fellow-subjects, in every constitutional measure, for carrying the purposes of the said resolutions into full effect.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by our Chairman, and published three times in the Dublin Evening Post and Belfast News-Letter, and a copy transmitted by the captain of the Loughal Volunteers, to James Dawson, Esq; Secretary of the Ulster Delegates.

ARTHUR GRAHAM, Chairman.

Arthur Graham, Esq; having left the chair, and Joshua M'Geough, Esq; having taken it,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, for the propriety of his conduct in the chair.

JOSHUA M'GEOUGH.

At a Meeting of the Mullingar Volunteers, on Friday the 26th of April, 1782.

WILLIAM JUDGE, Esq; Lieut. Col. in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That our thanks be presented to the Earl of Granard, for his great goodness and liberality to us, since he has done us the honour to accept the command (as Colonel) of this corps.

Resolved, That we will at all times, most chearfully co-operate with his Lordship, in all such measures as he shall deem eligible, for the purpose of carrying into execution, those necessary and spirited resolutions, entered into by our Volunteer brethren, assembled at Dungannon and Ballinasloe.

Resolved, That our worthy Lieut. Col. William Judge, be requested to transmit the above resolutions to his Lordship.

Ordered, That the above resolutions be inserted in the *Westmeath Journal*, and *Dublin Evening Post*.

Signed by order,

JOSEPH BEARD, Lieut. and Sec.



At a numerous Meeting of the Freeholders. and Volunteers of the Manor and Liberty of Mountnorris, assembled in the Meeting-house, on Friday the 26th Day of April, 1782, pursuant to Notice.

Mr. JOHN McCAMON in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That at this important crisis, it is the duty of all descriptions of men to declare publicly and unequivocally their sentiments, touching the grand fundamental and constitutional rights of this kingdom.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the iron hand of power hath long oppressed and degraded the inhabitants of this kingdom, they have nevertheless been distinguished; not more by their unexampled exertions for the peace and defence of their country, than for their unshaken attachment and loyalty to his Majesty's sacred person and government.

Resolved,

Resolved, That we highly approve of the spirit and moderation of the resolutions of the Ulster Delegates assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February last; and that we shall at all times be ready, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, to co-operate with them and our other fellow-subjects, in every constitutional measure for carrying the purposes of the said resolutions into full effect.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by our Chairman, and published three times in the Dublin Evening Post and Belfast News-Letter, and a copy transmitted to James Dawson, Esq; Secretary of the Ulster Delegates.

JOHN M'CAMON.

Mr. John M'Camon having left the chair, and Captain John Ingram having taken it,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, for his proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Blackall, Esq; for his very spirited exertions in convening this meeting, and in digesting and drawing up the above resolutions.



CARRICK MEETING.

At a Meeting of Delegates from the following Corps, Clanwilliam Union, Munster Corps, Fethard Independents, Iverk Volunteers, Third Company of Waterford Infantry, and Waterford Union, convened at Carrick by a requisition of the Waterford Union, to re-consider the Appointment of a Reviewing General, made on the 1st of February last.

Captain HANNIBAL WILLIAM DOBBYN in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

IT having been suggested that the corps, whose Delegates met here on the 1st day of February last, are bound in honour to abide by the resolutions of that day ;

Resolved, That men of honour cannot be bound to what is dishonourable.

Resolved, That we have seen since our last meeting the most improper influence exerted, to prevent the county of
Waterford

Waterford from instructing their representatives in parliament, (although convened for that purpose by the Sheriff) and thereby from uniting in the general measures for the redemption of our country.

Resolved, That the appointment of any person to be a reviewing general is the most public approbation of his principles and conduct, and holds him forth as a character entitled to national esteem.

Resolved, That it would be dangerous to our country and dishonourable to ourselves, to give weight and consequence to one of the most active opposers of our patriotic exertions, by putting him at the head of a considerable body of Volunteers even in the ceremony of a review.

Resolved, That we rescind our resolution of the 1st of February, appointing the Earl of Tyrone, our reviewing General.

Resolved, That the review be deferred, and also the appointment of a reviewing General, to a future day.

Resolved, That such corps as choose to accede to our resolutions, are requested to send their names to our Chairman, in order to have them inserted in our resolutions.

HANNIBAL WILLIAM DOBBYN, Chairman.

Delegate from 3d Comp. of Waterford Infantry.

Thomas Ryan, Delegate from the Clanwilliam Union.

James Hackett, Delegate from the Munster Corps.

John Congreve, Delegate from the Waterford Union.

J. Jacob, Delegate from the Fethard Independents.

Henry Briscoe, Delegate from the Iverk Volunteers.

Major Hackett having taken the chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Waterford Union, for its proper spirit in convening us on this occasion.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Capt. Dobbyn, for his conduct as Chairman.

Resolved, That our Chairman be requested to have these resolutions published in the Dublin Evening Post, and the Waterford and Clonmel Papers.

Carrick,

JAMES HACKETT.

April 27, 1782.

DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS, commanded by his Grace the Duke of Leinster.

At a general Meeting of the Corps, pursuant to a special Summons for that Purpose, held at the Eagle, Eustace-street, the 28th Day of April, 1782.

HENRY MONK, Esq; Major, in the Chair.

This corps having considered, with the highest gratitude, and most heartfelt satisfaction, the paternal regard and attention which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to manifest to this nation, in his message to our parliament, directing them to take our grievances into their most serious consideration, have

RESOLVED unanimously, That a conduct so truly royal in our most gracious Sovereign, must make an indelible impression on the hearts of Irishmen, whose strongest characteristics are, affectionate loyalty to their prince, and the most determined and persevering exertions in the cause of their country and her constitutional rights.

Resolved unanimously, That we should hold ourselves unworthy such royal favour, did we not feel the weight of the obligation, and determine most steadily to coincide with his Majesty's gracious intention, of delivering this his loyal kingdom from every grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That as citizens and soldiers, we feel ourselves deeply impressed with gratitude and esteem, for those respectable and illustrious characters in both Houses of Parliament, who have supported the honour and consequence of the Volunteers of Ireland, from a conviction that their manly determinations to enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, are the best proofs of their unshaken loyalty and attention to the true interests of this country.

Resolved, That we receive the utmost satisfaction in finding, that the following resolution of this corps, published the 9th day of June, 1780, has been supported by the unanimous voice of the nation, viz.

“ That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, are competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm, and that we will not obey, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland,

Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes."

Resolved unanimously, That Henry Grattan, Esq; in a peculiar manner, merits the thanks and confidence of every Irishman, for the distinguished exertion of his abilities, displayed on his proposition for a parliamentary declaration of rights, which we have now the happiness to see sanctified by both Houses of Parliament, with that unanimity its national importance demanded.

Resolved accordingly, That the thanks of this corps be presented to Mr. Grattan, and that a respectable deputation do wait on him with a copy of these resolutions.

The corps take the opportunity of thus publicly returning thanks to Major Monk for his conduct in the chair this day, and for his constant attention to the corps upon all occasions.

Ordered, That the above resolutions be published six times in the Dublin Journal, and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

JOHN WILLIAMS, Sec.



The Committee appointed having waited on Mr. Grattan with said resolutions, he was pleased to return the following answer :

To the Dublin Volunteers.

Gentlemen:

I RETURN you my most sincere thanks. We are embarked in the same cause, with one interest and one opinion; the same determination to be free, and the same desire to exhort those who endeavour to serve the public: your resolution is particularly agreeable to me: I enter into the generous spirit which inspired it, and shall be ambitious to retain that esteem which I am proud to meet with in this most flattering testimony of your liberality and your patriotism.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your most humble, obedient

HENRY GRATTAN.

*At a Meeting of the Youghal Union, held the 28th Day of April,
1782.*

THOMAS GREEN, Major Commandant, in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we highly applaud the patriotic and spirited resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and that we will heartily co-operate with our brethren Volunteers, in such constitutional measures as may appear expedient, for redress of grievances.

Resolved, That a copy of the above be transmitted by our Chairman, to the Secretary of the Ulster Delegates, and be published in the Dublin and Cork Evening Posts.

WILLIAM ROCH, Secretary.

C O U N T Y of L E I T R I M.

At a Meeting of the Independent Freeholders of the County of Leitrim; who do not possess more than Fifty Acres of Land each in his own Right, assembled at Castlecargin, on Wednesday, May 1, 1782.

ROBERT SADLER in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1. **R**ESOLVED, That Honesty is the best Policy.

2. Resolved, That none but honest men can be truly great or good men.

3. Resolved, That it is for want of having *honest* men in power for the time past, that this country is poor and the inhabitants of it miserable, and that flaxseed, tobacco, sugar, cotton, &c. &c. bear such high prices as they do at present, to the ruin of the nation.

4. Resolved, That it is neither honest or wise, to buy or sell votes for an election of members to serve in parliament, because the man who buys us will sell us again to our own destruction.

5. Resolved, That we must be honest ourselves before we can reasonably expect our representatives should be so, who are only our trustees.

6. Resolved,

Resolved, That nothing under God, can make this country rich, and the people of all ranks happy, but an honest parliament, and that we deserve to live and die in slavery and wretchedness, if ever we vote for any who is or has been the enemy of Ireland.

Signed,
ROBERT SADLER, Chairman.
and sixty others.



MUNSTER VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of Delegates from Eighty-six of the Volunteer Corps of the Province of Munster, at Mallow, the 2d of May, 1782.

Colonel STAWELL in the Chair.

A committee being chosen for the purpose of forming Resolutions, the following were reported and unanimously agreed to.

Lord KINGSBOROUGH, Chairman of the Committee.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the resolutions of the Volunteer Delegates assembled at Dungannon, express with spirit and truth the rights and grievances of this kingdom; we therefore most cordially accede to them.

Resolved unanimously, That we are determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support our Houses of Parliament, in their late virtuous efforts to establish the rights and privileges of this realm.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the earnest wish, and it must ever be the glory of Irishmen, to be connected with Great Britain, by friendship never to be broken; by affections never to be changed; by interests never to be separated; but we conceive a mutual enjoyment of equal privileges (being united under the same sovereign, yet governed by distinct and independent legislatures) can alone establish such friendship, such affections, such interests.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That we have the most ardent hope, that the administration of Ireland will adopt that plan of retrenchment, which ministers have declared their intention of forming in England; and we rejoice at the idea of "weeding corruption from the land," a system much to be wished for in this kingdom, where we have seen the most prostitute characters hold the most honourable and lucrative employments.

Resolved unanimously, That when the rights of this realm shall be universally acknowledged, it will be the indispensable duty of every Irishman, to guard the constitution against future violation; and as the infamous doctrine of *Power conferring right* hath been asserted, we therefore pledge ourselves, and conjure our brethren Volunteers, not to relinquish or slacken in the use of arms, as the best means to repel any attempt of lawless power, to guard against invasion, assist our sister kingdom, and enforce the just execution of the laws.

Resolved unanimously, That a committee of correspondence, consisting of thirty-six members, be elected (Seven to be a quorum) to meet and consult with the other Delegates of the kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That no member of either House of Parliament, who hath in or out of parliament, or by any other means, opposed a declaration of rights for this kingdom, shall be eligible as a committee man.

The Committee was formed of the following persons :

<i>County of Cork.</i>	<i>County of Waterford.</i>
James Bernard, Esq.	John Congreve, Esq.
Colonel Francis Bernard,	Colonel Keane,
Lord Viscount Kingsborough,	Captain Musgrave,
Sir John Conway Clothurst, Bart.	Captain Shee,
<i>County of the City of Cork.</i>	<i>County of the City of Waterford.</i>
Colonel Bagwell,	Robert Shapland Carew, Esq.
Colonel Bousfield,	Cornelius Bolton, Esq.
Richard Moore, Esq.	Henry Alcock, Esq.
Richard Fitton, Esq.	Hannibal William Dobbyn, Esq.
<i>County of Limerick.</i>	<i>County of Kerry.</i>
Colonel Massey,	Colonel Sir Barry Denny, Bart.
Colonel Croker,	Colonel Arthur Blennerhassett,
Colonel Ryves,	Major Godfrey,
Colonel Maunfell.	Colonel Gun.

County

County of the City of Limerick.

Colonel Smyth,
 Colonel Prendergast,
 Colonel Harte,
 Major Powell.

County of Tipperary.

Colonel Prittie,
 Edward Moore, Esq.
 Samuel Jacob, Esq.
 Samuel Allen, Esq.

County of Clare. Not yet returned.

Resolved unanimously, That as we wish to see all the spirit, the virtue, and the strength of the nation united, in the support and defence of the just rights and constitution of Ireland, respectable men of every religious denomination, be admissible, by ballot (as usual) into the Volunteer corps of this province.

Resolved unanimously, That we shall ever acknowledge our obligations to those members of parliament, who uniformly supported the rights, and pressed for a redress of the grievances of this kingdom; and that such men alone are worthy of our support on every future election.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to colonel Henry Grattan, for his unwearied attention to the interest of Ireland; and from whose exertions, assisted by the Volunteers, and people in general, this kingdom is likely to derive great and lasting advantages.

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be presented to colonel Henry Grattan;

SIR,

“ A nation, for ages despoiled of her Liberty, considers YOU as the assertor of that blessing, without the enjoyment of which, riches cease to be wealth, and peace to be tranquility. Look into yourself; revolve in your mind that you have made your country FREE: your own sensations must be superior to all the thanks we can express.

Resolved unanimously, That the Volunteer corps and inhabitants of Mallow merit the thanks of this meeting, for their attention, and for their polite and hospitable behaviour.

Resolved unanimously, That the commanders of the several Volunteer corps of this province do return (upon honour) to the chairman, the date of their first association in arms.

Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Clare, Limerick, Kerry, and Waterford News-papers.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Henry Newfom, Esq; for his proper conduct as secretary.

Resolved,

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting be adjourned until such time as the answers to the addresses of our parliament be received, as we are at this time uncertain, what measure may be proper for Irishmen to adopt: and that then, and on every other great national occasion, our committee of correspondence be empowered, and are requested to call a meeting of the Delegates of this province.

SAMPSON STAWELL, Chairman.

The Chairman having quitted the chair;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to colonel Stawell, for the propriety of his conduct in the chair.

In committee, the chairman having quitted the chair;

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this committee be given to Lord Viscount Kingsborough, for the propriety of his conduct in the chair; and we reflect with pleasure, on his patriotic conduct in parliament.

HENRY NEWSOM,

Secretary to the Munster Delegates.



To the Provincial Meeting of Delegates for Eighty-six Volunteer Corps of Munster, holden at Mallow, May 2, 1782.

Gentlemen,

IT is impossible to convey in fewer words more decided sentiments, or more flattering approbation, than you have done in those very pregnant lines, for which I am now to return my sincere acknowledgments.

On the part of my country, and of myself, I am to thank eighty-six corps; I am to thank them for conferring honour on the individual, for giving support to the cause, and for combining both.

The grievances, for the removal of all and each of which we are committed life and fortune—foreign legislature, appellat judicature and writ of error to England, unconstitutional power of the councils, a perpetual mutiny bill, will, I hope, speedily vanish, and a free constitution establish itself on their ruins.

I thank you most sincerely. I thank you for your support and your commendation, your esteem and your assistance.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect and regard,

Your most humble servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

P. S. Mr. Francis Bernard has done me the honour to present your address; to the same respectable and independent member I give the answer.



*At a Meeting of the Loughinshillin Battalion, held at Castle-
Dawson, the 3d of May, 1782.*

Major DOWNING in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That at this awful and important hour, when the fate of Ireland, as a nation, is depending, it would be a dereliction of our rights longer to delay a publication of our sentiments. We are now in full possession of the several opinions and demands of our countrymen armed, and unarmed, of the Volunteers, and of the people of Ireland.

We therefore, with hearts beating high for the honour of our king, and the good of our country, do accede to the resolutions of the Delegates assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, as breathing the true spirit of loyalty, liberty, and toleration, and will use every constitutional effort in support of such measures, as may tend to promote the undoubted liberties and commerce of this kingdom.

Resolved, That the interests of Great Britain and Ireland are inseparable, and that any attempts to disunite them deserve the execrations and repentment of every friend to both.

Resolved, That as we are willing to share her fate, so it is our decided determination to be *free*.

Resolved, That the thanks of this corps be given to those worthy and independent members of parliament, who strenuously supported the rights and liberties of Ireland, and that we are happy in having this opportunity of expressing our most grateful acknowledgments to the right hon. Thomas Colley, our General, Col. Staples, and Lieut. Col. Dawson, for their generous donations, steady support, and particular attention to this battalion from its first formation.

Resolved, That with heart-felt pleasure we reflect, that the strictest harmony has ever subsisted in this battalion; and that our sentiments have on this, and every other occasion, entirely coincided with those of our worthy commanders, whose absence at this time is owing to their indispensable duty in parliament.

Resolved;

Resolved, That our Chairman do immediately inclose these our resolutions to James Dawson, Esq; Secretary to the Dunganannon meeting.

Resolved, That Col. Staples and Lieut. Col. Dawson, be requested to confer with the other Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, on all constitutional measures and questions that may tend to the redress of grievances and injured rights of Ireland.

Resolved, That our Chairman shall have these our resolutions published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

JOHN DOWNING, Major.

Major Downing being requested to leave the Chair, and Capt. Ellis to take it,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, for his polite and genteel behaviour on this and every other occasion.

HENRY ELLIS.



AUGHINLOE MEETING.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Freeholders and principal Inhabitants of the Parish of Aughinloe, in the County of Londonderry, held at the Church of said Parish, on Friday the 3d of May, 1782, pursuant to public Notice.

PAUL CHURCH, Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That at this critical and important crisis, when the fate of this kingdom depends upon the wise and spirited exertions of its virtuous inhabitants, we consider it an indispensable duty we owe to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, to join with our fellow-citizens, in demanding those constitutional privileges which are our unalienable birth-right as a free people.

Resolved, That as freemen we will be governed by our own laws only, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only representatives of this crown and people.

Resolved, That as the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of the people, and derive their power solely from them, every member of that house, who contemptuously

tinuously neglects the instructions of his constituents, betrays his trust, and is unworthy of confidence.

Resolved, That we will not support any man at the ensuing election, but such as are known to be men of real integrity, and friends to the King and constitution of Ireland.

Resolved, That our Chairman, with Messrs. Alexander Scott, Matthew Patten, David Rankin, John Forsyth, William Forsyth, Jacob Forsyth, William Hazlet, and Thomas Maxwell be appointed a committee, any five to be a quorum, to call future meetings of said parish, and act in concert with the committees of other parishes.

Resolved, That our warmest thanks are due to that saviour and deliverer of his country, Henry Grattan, Esq; and the rest of those worthy and patriotic Senators, who have so long, and till now so unsuccessfully laboured for the emancipation of Ireland.

PAUL CHURCH, Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to our worthy Chairman, for his proper and polite conduct in the chair.

JACOB FORSYTH, jun. Sec.



ARMAGH VOLUNTEERS.

*At a Meeting of the Second Company of Armagh Volunteers,
convened the 4th of May, 1782.*

RESOLVED, That our disapprobation of the Dungannon meeting was directed against the mode of convening that assembly, not the salutary measures resulting from it; these we do in the amplest manner accede to, having ever held them in the highest esteem, as conducing to the happiness and prosperity of our kingdom. And we declare, that we will always join with our brethren, in giving every constitutional support to obtain a redress of the grievances therein mentioned.

Signed by order,

JAMES CRAWFORD, Sec.

MAGHERAFELT MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Magherafelt, held at Magherafelt, on Monday the 6th Day of May, 1782, pursuant to public Notice.

Mr. HENRY PATTERSON, Chairman.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

1. **R**ESOLVED, That the welfare of the people ought to be the great design of every government.

2. That when the servants of the crown, by their corrupt influence, attempt to undermine the rights of the people, it becomes the indispensable duty of each individual to use every constitutional effort in their defence.

3. That we most cordially approve of, and accede to the resolutions entered into at Dungannon, by the Delegates of the Volunteers assembled on the 15th of February last, and the solemn declaration of the high Sheriffs, Grand Jurors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the city and county of Londonderry, convened at the last assizes, both which resolutions and solemn declarations merit, and shall receive our most determined support.

4. That we have with admiration beheld the efforts of those distinguished and illustrious citizens, who formerly composed the minority of the Irish parliament, in asserting, with such uncommon ability and unwearied zeal, the rights of Ireland, rejoicing that their able reasonings, seconded by the voice of the people, have forced conviction on every mind, and brought both Houses of Parliament unanimously to speak the sentiments of the people, in stating and claiming the ancient rights of this kingdom; rights which ought to be asserted at every risk, and to be torn from us only with our lives.

5. We rejoice that those obstructions, which so lately diverted the rays of royal beneficence, have been removed, by placing around the throne men of the most approved worth, and who possess the intire confidence of the people; and we trust, a similar change of men and measures will take place in this kingdom, which we are persuaded would produce the most happy effects.

6. That such members as act contrary to the inclinations and interests of their constituents, or endeavour, by absence,
when

when important constitutional questions are depending in the house, to avoid both ministerial vengeance and popular odium, are unworthy of future confidence; and that, therefore, on every subsequent election, we will support, with our votes and interest, such candidates as are most distinguished for integrity and patriotic conduct.

7. That the interests of Great Britain and Ireland are indissolubly united, and by our being admitted into an equal share of the benefits of the British constitution, the bonds of mutual interest and cordial affection will be rendered firm and permanent.

8. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy chairman for his very proper conduct in the chair.

9. That the following gentlemen, major Patterson, Rev. Mr. Downing, Rev. Mr. Chambers, Rev. Mr. Henry, Rev. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Henry Patterson, Doctor Caldwell, Captain Tracy, Mr. Robert Crawford, Mr. Samuel Crawford, Mr. Andrew Torrens, Mr. Theodore Williams, Mr. Hugh Crawford, Mr. Thomas Pollock, Mr. Abraham Mathews, Mr. Richard Dawson, Mr. Samuel Streat, Mr. Quintin Dick, Mr. John Glenhorn, and Mr. Samuel Brown (five to be a quorum) be appointed a committee, to convene the inhabitants of this parish, when they shall think it necessary, and to correspond with the committees of the other parishes, who may associate for similar purposes.

HENRY PATTERSON, Chairman.



At a numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants of the parish of Ballywalter, convened by public notice the 6th May, 1782.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1. **RESOLVED**, That at this important crisis, when resolutions are entered into by all ranks of our countrymen in every part of the kingdom, to obtain and secure our constitutional rights, we think it our duty to declare our sentiments, lest our silence should be deemed an opposition to our worthy patriotic brethren, or at least a want of regard to the interests of our country.

2. Resolved, That the resolutions of the Volunteer Delegates, who met at Dungannon the 15th of February last, and the address of their committee, merit our warmest approbation and support.

3. Resolved,

3. Resolved, That we will do all in our power to obtain an upright house of Commons, and a fair representation of the people in parliament, by giving our votes, on the ensuing election, to such men only as we have reason to believe will consult the good of Ireland, and fairly represent us; that as in the election of representatives we are resolved to be free, so this unalienable right of our brethren freeholders we will endeavour to support, by giving every assistance in our power to such as may suffer on account of their steady attachment to the rights of citizens—the freedom of election.

4. Resolved, That Messrs. Robert Allen, Robert Goudy, Francis Bailie, James Spence, John Mc. Kee, Robt. Park, Andrew Davison, Daniel Kirkpatrick, Robert Mc. Kee, Wm. Mc. Kee, James Laughlin, Hugh Wallace, Andrew Mc. Cormick, and Archibald Scott, be a committee to collect our voluntary contributions for the relief of such virtuous sufferers, to call us together on any emergency, to convene us at least once in every year for the purpose of reviving in our minds these our resolutions, and to correspond with the committees of neighbouring parishes.

Resolved, That these resolutions, be published in the Belfast News-Letter, signed in the name of 300 inhabitants, who were all present, by

JAS. COCHRAN, P. D. M.



*At a numerous Meeting of the Boyne Volunteer Corps, held on
12th of May, 1782.*

Major BASS in the Chair.

The resolution of the Delagates of the Munster Volunteers,
“ That respectable men of every religious denomination,
be admiffible into the Volunteer corps of this province,”
being read:

RESOLVED unanimously, That we do highly approve of, and accede to said resolution, and that we will consider this corps as honoured by every respectable man, of what religious denomination soever, who shall propose to be admitted a member of it.

JOHN BASS, Major.

MONAGHAN

MONAGHAN RANGERS.

*At a Meeting of the Monaghan Rangers, on Saturday the 13th
of May, 1782.*

WILLIAM FORSTER, Esq; in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That it is the duty of freemen, publicly to express their gratitude to the assertors and supporters of liberty.

Resolved, That our sincere thanks, be presented to Henry Grattan, Esq; and the other true representatives of the people, who declared the authority and independence of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That our sincere thanks, be presented to Barry Yelverton, Esq; and the other friends of the Irish parliament, who endeavoured to rescue it from an usurped unconstitutional interference.

Resolved, That our thanks be presented to the Rev. Joseph Warren, for his excellent sermon preached before this company, on Sunday the 7th inst.

Resolved, That our most grateful thanks, be paid to the ladies of Monaghan, who presented a suit of colours to this company; a compliment which could not be increased, but by the very genteel method they took of paying it.

By order,

WILLIAM LOWRY, Sec.



*At a Quarterly Meeting of the Culloden Volunteers, held on
the 13th of May, 1782.*

Captain NEWSOM in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That we subscribe with pleasure to what the Munster Delegates resolved on the second instant, and we pledge ourselves to them to be perfectly obedient to their directions.

Resolved unanimously, That we, as a corps of perfectly tolerating principles, wish to be firmly united with all our countrymen, and for that purpose we invite respectable persons of every religious denomination to become members of our corps.

HENRY NEWSOM.

UNION RANGERS.

*At a Meeting of the Union Rangers, held at Castle-Dawson,
May 19, 1782.*

Rev. Mr. A. STEWART, Chaplain, in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That as the late formation of this troop has unavoidably delayed the publication of our sentiments upon matters of importance to this kingdom, we do now embrace the earliest opportunity of discharging this our indispensable duty.

Resolved, That we take a zealous and liberal part in the military association, as well in parliament as in the field, and in every effort, how inconsiderable soever, that may be conducive to the honour of that institution.

Resolved, That a body of men, voluntarily associated in the manner and on the principles of our Volunteers of Ireland, may be considered equally as the soldiers of the constitution and kingdom, bound to assist in rescuing the one from abuse, and defending the other from foreign enemies.

Resolved, That the Volunteers of this country are to be considered as an army grown out of national spirit, public virtue, and pressing necessity, who by regular behaviour, under constitutional controul, with firmness and moderation assert their rights, and with equal resolution expect to convert the possession of them to solid advantages.

Resolved, That upon the most mature deliberation, we think that the resolutions of the Ulster meeting at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, are worthy the approbation of every honest, unbiassed mind, and therefore we most heartily accede to them.

Resolved, That thoroughly sensible of the blessings we have already enjoyed under the best of governments, and in full expectation of a confirmation of our civil and commercial liberties, we will strain every nerve in support of that government, as the great source of Irish happiness.

Resolved, That the strength and existence of this and every other corps, depend upon their unanimity; keeping therefore constantly in view the great cause we have espoused, we will be unanimous and adhere most strictly to the first principles of our association, the defence of our King and constitution, and the support of the just rights of Ireland.

Resolved,

Resolved, That our sincere acknowledgments are due to our worthy Captain, Arthur Dawson, Esq; (now absent serving his country in parliament) for his polite attention to this corps on every occasion.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to James Dawson, Esq; secretary to the Dungannon meeting.

Resolved, That our thanks are due to our worthy chairman, for the propriety of his conduct in the chair, and constant attention to this corps.

Signed by order,

JOHN CRAWFORD. Sec.



INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

At a meeting of the Corps, Dublin, May 28, 1782.

Rev. OLIVER MILLER, Chaplain, in the Chair.

IN order to testify our attachment and affection to Great Britain, and our determination to *stand and fall with her, sharing her liberties to share her fate,*

Resolved unanimously, That as soon as our restrictions shall be *unequivocally* done away, and our liberties *permanently* established, that a delegate from this corps be appointed, to demand a meeting of the delegates of the province of Leinster, to take into consideration the *justice and necessity* of making an offer to the parliament of Ireland of our services and exertions, under the command of the civil magistrates, for the internal defence of the kingdom, and the protection of the public peace at our own expence, whereby a principal part of the army on this establishment may be spared to his Majesty against his *European* enemies, having every conviction and proof, from the loyalty and public spirit of our countrymen, that this, our idea, will be universally and cheerfully adopted.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in Saunders's News-Letter, the Hibernian Journal, and the Dublin Evening post.

Signed by order,

C. B. KIPPAX, Secretary.

*The Address of the Committees of Ulster and Connaught to the
Volunteers of those Provinces.*

Friends, Freemen, and Fellow-Soldiers,

WE have suspended all observations on public affairs, until we should receive that authentic information from our legislature on which we should ground our proceedings. Appointed by the Volunteers of our respective provinces to superintend the great cause in which we were engaged, we have been watchful spectators of its progress, and have waited, in silent expectation, for the fate of those demands of justice, which our parliament, echoing the voice of the nation, had carried to the foot of the throne. We can now congratulate with our fellow-soldiers on the full completion of their wishes. The all-bountiful Providence, whose omnipotent hand guides the fate of nations, has led this country on to Glory; the people of Ireland, with the steady dignified moderation of conscious rectitude, have boldly vindicated their Rights; and the magnanimity of Britain, forgetting all antient prejudices, has obliterated every source of jealousy, by an act of ample and unequivocal justice. Let us bow down with gratitude to that Providence, whose divine protection has led us through the paths of peace to the summit of success; let us cherish that spirit in ourselves which has been the instrument of our deliverance; let us embrace our sister kingdom with renovated affection, and evince that freedom is the strongest cement of union and liberality, the firmest basis of power.

The distinction between Englishman and Irishman is no more; we are now one people; we have but one interest, one cause, one enemy, one friend, and we trust that the conduct of the Irish nation will demonstrate to all mankind, that the same spirit which grasps at liberty and spurns at usurpation, is equally alive to the impressions of friendship, of kindness, and of generosity. Let this auspicious æra, which at once restores us to the possession of our constitution, and to the arms of our magnanimous sister, be ever recorded in the annals of this country; and let the glory which surrounds it diffuse its light to illuminate succeeding ages; let structures arise to commemorate the transactions of this eventful period, and to hold up an example to stimulate posterity to an emulation of the virtues of their ancestors, and religiously to preserve the sacred trust transmitted to them inviolate and uncontaminated; let the whole nation pour in the voluntary tribute of its feelings,
that

that every man who assisted in the attainment of the object may have the gratification of contributing to the measure which is to record it, and that as the cause is national, so should the monument.

Amidst these effusions of public exultation; amidst these records of the glorious events of this memorable æra; while we pay every testimony of heart-felt gratitude to those ever-to-be-honoured Senators, who, superior to all temptation, have boldly stood forth in vindicating the rights of their country; while we offer every tribute of particular veneration to the illustrious leader of the Volunteers of Ireland, the *Earl of Charlemont*, we should be wanting to our own feelings, to our sense of justice, and to what we are convinced is the unanimous sense of the nation, did we not hold up that great and exalted character, *Henry Grattan*, as the object of peculiar commemoration and distinguished national reward. It was the capacious genius of that honour to his country and mankind, which first conceived the practicability of rescuing his native land from oppression; it was the power of his splendid abilities which roused the public mind, and called forth all the talents and all the virtue in the nation to his aid; it was his perseverance which, with such an aid, irresistibly bore down all opposition to the parliamentary declaration, and the British recognition of our constitution. Services like these are so blended with, and form so leading a feature in the history of the times, that one cannot be commemorated without the other, nor can any monument record the effect without distinguishing the cause. But we should not stop here; the Duke of Marlborough received Blenheim from the British nation, as a tribute of gratitude for his military success; but as much as liberty is more valuable than conquest, so are the services of a *Grattan* superior to those of a *Marlborough*; and we trust the characteristic generosity of the Irish will not be inferior to that of Britain, in proportion to her ability. The reward to the individual is united to the political encouragement held out to public virtue, and if a nation should err in its retribution for distinguished services, its error should ever be on the side of liberality.

Impressed with these opinions, we did intend to recommend it to your consideration, to apply in your capacity as freeholders to the Sheriffs of your respective counties, to convene public meetings, for the purpose of instructing your representatives in parliament, to confer an adequate, national reward on that truly deserving character; but finding the

subject was last night mentioned in the house of commons by a very respectable member, and is soon to be taken under parliamentary consideration, we have only to express our wish, that every county in the kingdom may be convened to sanctify, by their approbation, the conduct of their representatives on this occasion, and evince, that it is equally the desire of the people and the legislature.

While we felicitate you on the glorious prospects which now begin to open in this country; while we view with wonder and exultation the tide of good fortune which poured in at once upon the Irish nation and the empire at large, we cannot but particularly intreat you not to relax your military discipline; we have now a constitution as well as property to defend against the common enemy; let us remember too, that there is a public spirit and a high sense of honour annexed to the Volunteer institution, which, we have found the great support and incentive to national virtue; and which, having already made corruption sink before it, can alone prevent its rising again into existence.

The late happy change in his Majesty's measures and Ministers in Ireland, as well as Great Britain, seems the harbinger of prosperity and indissoluble union to both kingdoms; and we trust, that gratified in all those particulars mentioned in the late addresses of our parliament, the people of this country will (as well as the legislature) assure his Majesty, that while England adheres to the principle manifested in her present conduct, no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony; and that we will shew our sister-kingdom and the world, that a government founded on the broad basis of liberty, of purity, and public opinion, will stand unstaken upon the support of the nation, and rise superior to all the arts of corruption. *Dublin, May 28, 1782.*

For Ulster.

MERVYN ARCHDALL
FRANCIS DOBBS
JOSEPH POLLOCK.

For Connaught.

JOHN GEOGHEGAN
LEWIS FR. IRVINE
NEAL O'DONEL.



ULSTER VOLUNTEERS, IRELAND.

Dungannon, June 12, 1782.

Colonel WILLIAM IRVINE in the Chair.

“ At a Meeting of THREE HUNDRED and SIX COMPANIES of this Province, pursuant to public Notice, the

following Address was unanimously agreed upon, and ordered to be presented to his Majesty by the Chairman, Major Francis Dobbs, Captain James Dawson, Captain Francis Evans, and Colonel Thomas Morris Jones.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty, the humble Address
of the Volunteers of Ulster.

" Most gracious Sovereign,

WITH the most unfeigned attachment to your Majesty's person and family, we approach your throne. You are our true and lawful Sovereign; and we trust that every act of ours will evince, that we are your faithful and loyal subjects.

" The addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unqualified and unconditional repeal of the statute of the sixth of George the first, by the British parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a compleat renunciation of a principle hostile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the said statute; and as such we will accept it and deem it satisfactory. Thus united by the sacred bond of freedom, we request our gracious Sovereign to assure our sister kingdom, that we will be sharers in her fate, standing or falling with the British empire.

" We humbly beg leave to express our gratitude for the appointment of his Grace the Duke of Portland to the government of Ireland. Prevented by situation from enjoying the presence of our benevolent Sovereign, we rejoice in a viceroy, whose character assures us that he will faithfully discharge the duties of his station.

" The œconomy and retrenchment which your Majesty has been graciously pleased both to recommend and practise, will, we humbly hope, be extended to Ireland. Should a more equal representation of the people be also adopted, our prosperity would be for ever secured, and your Majesty's reign most honourably distinguished in the annals of mankind.

" We rejoice in the great and signal success of your Majesty's arms: every enemy must yield to the efforts of a great, a brave, a free, and an united people. Your Majesty's choice of those whom you have entrusted with the administration of public affairs gives us the most heart-felt satisfaction; public confidence is revived; and we doubt not but your Majesty's crown and empire will speedily be raised to the highest pinnacle of human glory.

" We

" We have ever beheld with admiration your Majesty's domestic virtues. May your Majesty, and the truly great and amiable partner of your throne, long, long live to bless each other : may the offspring of your happy union reward your parental fondness, by a display of every grace and every virtue : and when, at length, the immutable law of nature shall demand that tribute, which even Kings must pay, may your mourning subjects with one voice lament, that the great, the benevolent father of his people is no more.

WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

JAMES DAWSON, Secretary.



VOLUNTEER NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

At a Meeting of the Volunteer National Committee, at Dublin, on Tuesday the 18th of June, 1782.

The Rt. Hon. Lord KINGSBOROUGH in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatsoever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider a repeal of the 6th of George the first by the British parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a complete renunciation of all the claims contained in the said statute, and, as such, we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory.

Kingsborough, R. Sh. Carew, W. T. Monfel, Samuel Jacob, A. Blennerhaf. Wm Godfrey, Geo. Stacpoole	} For Munster.	Richard Talbot, William Burton, John Parnell, R. Nevill.	} For Lein.	Mer. Arch. F. Dobbs, J. Pollock.	} Ulster.
		Lewis Francis Irvine, Charles O'Hara, John Geoghegan.		} Connaught.	



BELFAST FIRST VOLUNTEER COMPANY.

At a Meeting of the First Volunteer Company, in the Market-house, of Belfast, on Thursday the 27th of June, 1782.

Capt. CUNNINGHAM in the Chair.

The following was ordered to be published ;

RESOLVED unanimously, That as an advertisement from the national committee was published on the 18th inst. we should think ourselves culpable, were we (from personal at-

tachment to any of the three Ulster members who subscribed it) not freely to declare our disapprobation.

The advertisement runs thus.—“ Resolved unanimously, that the addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatever in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, We shall consider a repeal of the 6th of Geo. the first by the British parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a complete renunciation of all the claims contained in said statute, and as such, *we will accept it and deem it satisfactory.*”

Signed by four Delegates from Leinster, seven from Munster, three from Cannaught, and three from Ulster.

The objections to that advertisement, as far as the province of Ulster is concerned, are so glaring as scarcely to require a comment:—Three Delegates of the province, without any authority from the people they represent, decide on a great national question, with which the liberty of a kingdom, gloriously struggling for a free constitution, is intimately connected. The very men who summoned a general meeting of the province, to be held only three days after their publication appeared; attempted in this extraordinary manner to influence the proceedings of a great and respectable body, which had appointed them for purposes of a very different and much more limited nature. Beside, the impropriety of their giving any public opinion whatever on the subject, the language they conveyed it in is, to every corps which claims the privilege of thinking for themselves, just cause of complaint.

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM.



From the multiplicity of papers which the Editor was obliged to have recourse to in collecting these different Resolutions, mistakes consequently were unavoidable. Such, however, as were omitted in chronological order, are here inserted, and the collection closed with others of a later date.

The Delegates of the different Corps who attended the meeting held in the town of Clonmel, on Thursday the 14th inst. came to the following resolutions :

Colonel HENRY PRITTIE, in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, that we highly approve of the spirited and liberal resolutions and address, of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, the 15th of February last, and also the resolutions entered into by the Grand Jury of this county, now assembled.

Resolved unanimously, that as Citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps whose Delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, that a Delegate be appointed from each corps, to attend the meeting of the Volunteer delegates in Dublin.

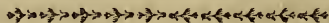
HENRY PRITTIE, Chairman.

Upon the above resolutions being agreed to, Col Prittie was requested to leave the chair, and Col. Bagwell to take it, when the following address was unanimously agreed to:

To HENRY PRITTIE, Esq.

S I R,

YOUR conduct as *one* of the representatives in parliament for *this* county, having been highly meritorious, demands from us, our warmest thanks and approbation; though critical the situation of this country, and though her interests are *deserted* in parliament by many of her representatives, yet, judging of the future by the past, we think it unnecessary to recommend any particular line for *you* to follow.



To the Delegates of the different Volunteer Corps of the County of Tipperary, who met at Clonmel, on the 14th of March, 1782.

Gentlemen,

YOUR approbation of my parliamentary conduct, raises sentiments in my breast, which words cannot express; a steady perseverance in which, shall ever be the invariable rule, of

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged,

And ever faithful,

March

16, 1782.

Humble servant,

HENRY PRITTIE.



C O U N T Y of D O W N.

WE, the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county of Down, assembled in Downpatrick, at an Assizes held for said county, the 15th day of March, 1782, thinking it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation, and desirous, by a seasonable explanation, to terminate

minate an anxious jealousy, and to prevent the possibility of any future contest, do declare, That we will, in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the constitutional right of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only, as are enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that we wil^l, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derive authority from said parliament, pledging ourselves to our country, and to each other, to support, with our lives and fortunes, this our solemn declaration; and farther, we bind ourselves, that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights, till such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged, and firmly established by the authority of parliament.

Tho. Douglas, Sheriff.	11 Richard Magenis
Grand Jurors.	12 Arthur Johnston
1 Richard Annesly, Foreman,	13 Alexander Stuart
by order of the majority of	14 James Waddell
the Grand Jury.	15 Nicholas Harrison
2 Robert Ward	16 Matthew Forde, jun.
6 Matthew Ford	17 Francis Savage
7 Nicholas Price	18 John Kennedy
8 Gawin Hamilton	20 Samuel Gibbons
9 Simon Isaac	21 Charles Innes
John Blackwood	22 Robert Montgomery
Roger Hall	23 James Crawford
Pat. Savage	Henry West
Edward Ward	William Waring
Francis Price	Steele Hawthorne
John Echlin	John Aughinleck
Robert Lambert	William Hamilton
James Ham. Clewlow	James Hamilton
John Crawford	Francis Turnley,
James Clewlow	And five thousand eight hun-
Eldred Pottinger	dred and sixty-two others.

At a full Meeting of the Monaghan Rangers, March 17, 1780.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, Esq; Colonel, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That in a time of great and anxious concern, we think it our duty to declare explicitly our sentiments on public Affairs. That,

That, connected as we are to England only by a common sovereign, and fully entitled to the blessings of an equal and independent legislation, we cannot admit a right or power in the parliament of that kingdom, to bind Ireland in any case whatever; on which account it is highly expedient to have a total renunciation, and express disavowal of that controuling power, claimed and usurped by a foreign legislature.

That, we cannot without indignant jealousy, suffer the Privy Council of this kingdom to be a legislative body, or any part of our constitution, which is composed only of King, Lords and Commons; therefore it is equally expedient and necessary, to have either a repeal or a modification of the law, called Poyning's, which vests an unconstitutional power in the Privy Council, as our parliament in their virtue and wisdom shall adopt.

That essentially conjoined with the independence of our house of lords, is a restoration of its constitutional privileges and dignity, and that it be supreme in all judicial appeals from the subordinate courts of justice in Ireland.

And further, That we are ready, at every hazard of life and fortune, to co-operate with the other Volunteers of this kingdom, in the attainment of these just and national requisitions, in securing that equal freedom and jurisdiction which belong to all the parts of the British empire; and for obtaining such a firm and indefeasible establishment of our rights, that an excess of prerogative, or the borrowed power of representation, cannot hereafter destroy them.

Signed by Order,

WILLIAM LOWRY, Sec.



K E R R Y L E G I O N.

At a meeting of the Kerry Legion, held on the 27th of March, 1782.

MAJOR GODFREY in the Chair.

HAVING with the utmost pleasure read the spirited resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the Ulster Volunteer corps, assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last;

Resolved, That we will be ready at all times to assist and co-operate with them, in obtaining a redress of those grievances they so justly complain of, and which we have so long laboured under.

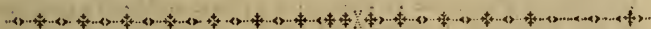
Resolved,

Resolved, That the above resolution be printed in the Dublin Evening post, and Kerry Journal.

Resolved, That these resolutions be inclosed to Arthur Blennerhasset, Esq; our Colonel, to be by him forwarded to the Chairman of the Dungannon meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to our Chairman, for his polite and proper conduct in the chair.

JOHN HURLY, Sec.



LISMORE VOLUNTEERS.

At a full meeting of the Independent Blues of Lismore, in the County of Waterford, on the 1st of April, 1782.

ROBERT COOKE, Esq; in the Chair.

The following Resolutions passed unanimously:

RESOLVED, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, are competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that an usurpation of this power by any other body of men, is unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance.

Resolved, That a Mutiny Bill in this kingdom, not limited in point of duration, as in England, is an invidious distinction, unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved, That the independence of Judges is equally essential in Ireland as in England, to the impartial administration of justice, and that a refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, is equally insulting to the abilities and integrity of the Judges of this realm, as oppressive to the liberties of its people, and is unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved, That the numerous absentees of this kingdom, from the immense sums annually remitted to them, are very detrimental, and very much contribute to the impoverishing this nation; that a tax upon absentees would be highly conducive to the prosperity, honour, and happiness of this kingdom; and that the revenue arising from such tax should be paid into the Treasurer of the county, where the estates of such absentees lie, and be appropriated by the Grand Jury to such uses in the county, as they may think fit.

Resolved, That the doctrine, that *power makes right*, is of a most alarming nature to a free people, manifestly tending to erect arbitrary power on the ruins of our happy constitution; and that any claim or attempt to govern this kingdom, by such

an absurd and wicked maxim, is unconstitutional and a grievance; and that we do consider any man who is capable of making such a declaration, or entertaining such a sentiment, as an enemy to his country, and deserving our utmost contempt.

Resolved, That no other persons but the blood royal, as children of the public, and such, who from their services have deserved the regards of their country, or those whose situation and birth entitle them to the consideration of the public, ought to enjoy any pension or sinecure employment; and that the alarming increase of unnecessary places and heavy pensions in this kingdom, bestowed on unworthy persons, is equally disgraceful to the meritorious, as oppressive and injurious to the nation.

Mr. Cooke having quitted the Chair, and Mr Wigmore having taken it,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Cooke, for his upright and proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,

JOHN CRANITCH, Sec. and Treas.



C O U N T Y of D O W N.

At two several very numerous meetings of the Freeholders of the Barony of Dufferin, on the 3d and 8th of April, 1782, occasioned by the present alarming state of public affairs.

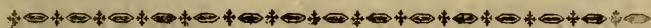
GAWIN HAMILTON, Esq; at each meeting in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the civil and religious principles expressed in the resolutions of the Ulster Delegates met at Dungannon, highly merit approbation and meet our warmest support; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to the public, that we will at all times endeavour, by every constitutional measure in our power, at the risque of life and fortune, to maintain a constitution, the essence of which is liberty, and its subjection to any foreign controul, a virtual annihilation. And further, that we will be watchful over the conduct of our representatives in parliament, and that we will not, at any future election, give our suffrages to any person who shall have deserted his duty in the house, reprobated the instructions of his constituents, or voted in parliament contrary to the spirit of these resolutions; and that we will support without any expence on our account, at all future elections, such, and such only, as shall give us the most solemn assurances of his or their full approbation of those sentiments,
and

and determinations to conform thereto, during the term of the great trust to be reposed in them.

Resolved, That the warmest thanks of these meetings be given to our worthy Chairman, for his very proper and polite conduct in the chair, and that he be requested to publish these resolutions in the Dublin Evening Post and the Belfast paper.

Resolved, That Sir John Blackwood, Bart. Gawin Hamilton, Esq; Dr. Little, Messrs. James Baillie, William Willie, Francis Heron, Robert M'Dowal, James M'Connell, Robert Johnston, James Richardson, Thomas Lindsay, Thomas Taylor, the Rev. Hamilton Trail, the Rev. Joseph Kinhead, Messrs. William Moore, Thomas Potter, jun. John Stewart, Gawin Frew, Thomas Osborn, Thomas Hewett, John Heron, Robert Morrow, James Lemon, and Robert Logan, be a committee to call future meetings of the Freeholders of this barony, as often as may be found expedient so to do, and to correspond with other Associations; nine of the above shall be a quorum.



COUNTY of KILDARE. NAAS RANGERS.

At a full meeting of the Naas Rangers, on the 7th of April, 1782.

Captain NEVILL in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we do approve, and highly applaud the patriotic resolutions and address of the Delegates from the several corps of Volunteers assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last.

Resolved, That we will co-operate with our Volunteer brethren, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in said resolutions.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain Richard Nevill, for his particular propriety of conduct in the Chair, and his attention, upon all occasions, to this corps.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

ROB. FRA. MORGAN, Sec.

GORTIN VOLUNTEERS.

At a meeting of the Gortin Volunteer Company, the 10th of April, 1782.

Lieutenant LENNON in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1. **T**HAT we adopt, in the fullest extent, the several resolutions and address of the Delegates assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last.

2. That we will, as Volunteers, Freeholders, and Protestants, in our several capacities and relations, as men firmly and zealously attached to the unalienable rights, civil and commercial, of Ireland, co-operate with our brethren Volunteers, and fellow-citizens, in every constitutional measure, to confirm, establish, and ascertain the freedom of this kingdom, and to unite us by indissoluble ties of mutual interest, attachment, and affection, to our sister kingdom.

3. That the honourable Arthur Cole Hamilton, our commander, be requested, and is hereby appointed a Delegate from this company, to confer with the other Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers in Dublin, on all constitutional measures and questions that may tend to the redress of grievances, and invaded rights of Ireland.

4. That we will attend the review to be held at Strabane, on the 18th of July next.

5. That the thanks of this company be given to Lieutenant Lennon, for his very proper conduct on the present occasion.

6. That these our resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,

J.A. TAYLOR, jun. Sec.



ARDS BATTALION.

At a Meeting of the Ards Battalion, in the County of Down, on the 22d of April, 1782.

Colonel SAVAGE in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the manly, laudable and moderate resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers, met at Dungannon, have our warmest approbation, and that we most heartily accede to them; with pleasure we accept of their invitation, and think ourselves honoured, by being admitted members of so truly respectable a body.

PAT. SAVAGE.

C O U N T Y of D O W N,

At a meeting of the Dissenting Congregation of Clough, convened by public Notice on Sunday the 28th Day of April, 1782.

Mr. AUGHTRY LAW in the Chair,

The following Declaration was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published.

SENSIBLE of the rights of men from what we feel in ourselves, and animated by the purest sentiments of liberty and benevolence, we cannot help expressing our satisfaction at the recent progress of religious toleration in the christian world. The arm of authority is learning to unbend the chains which bigotry hath long rivetted; the mind is beginning to resume a sense of its native excellence, and the best consequences may be expected.

We heartily partake with the friends of civil liberty, also, in the great self-complacency which they must at present enjoy, from the flattering prospects of success in their virtuous struggles. And we sincerely congratulate our fellow-citizens in this kingdom, in particular, upon the extensive unanimity, the firmness, and the moderate and generous spirit of their late resolves. We see baneful counsellors skulking from the merited vengeance of an injured people, and corruption tottering to its fall; we see the hand of justice ready to distribute equal privileges to all his Majesty's subjects, and true policy anxious to unite the British empire in mutual confidence, prosperity, and peace; we see our *ancient* enemies trembling at the force which œconomy, patriotism, and union, are likely to bring against them; and we *rejoice*.

And we further declare, That the man who attempts to *suppress* the peoples voice in public affairs, or who barter the more general welfare to private emolument, shall, *hereafter*, meet our warmest opposition; as we look upon a *fair* representation of the people as the best security of our constitutional rights; and are determined to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in every measure which may tend to promote the independence of parliament.

A. LAW, Chairman.

SLIEVARDAGH LIGHT DRAGOONS.

At a Meeting of the Slievardagh Light Dragoons, held at Killaule, the 10th February, 1780.

JACOB SANKEY, Esq; in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, That we will not, on any future election, give our suffrages or support to any Candidate, who will not give us the most solemn assurance of protecting and supporting the real constitutional interest and rights of this Kingdom.

Resolved, That we expect that our representatives, as well for this county as for the burroughs, will use their most strenuous efforts to have that act, called *Poyning's law*, repealed, as we apprehend it vests a dangerous power in persons who are no part of the real legislative body of this kingdom.

Resolved, That we sincerely abhor and abjure an act made in the 6th of George I. known by the name of the *Declaratory Act*, and that we will oppose its operation and tendency to the utmost of our powers.

Resolved, That the power assumed by the British legislature of making laws to bind us, is usurped and unconstitutional; and that we will obey no laws but those made by our King, our own Lords and Commons.

Resolved, That though we cannot answer to our consciences or posterity, to suffer any infringement on our *liberties*, or unjust *restrictions* on our *commerce*; yet, we look upon ourselves bound, by the strongest ties, to assist our brethren of Great Britain to the extent of our abilities; and as we are governed by the same Sovereign, breathe the same spirit of liberty, and in general have adopted the same laws, we will always consider their enemies as ours, and behave in all respects as the people of an affectionate, but at the same time, an *independent sister kingdom*.

Resolved, That as we have taken up arms for the defence of our rights and privileges, so shall we continue our association for the defence of the same.

Signed by order

THOMAS LANPHIER JOHN, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Officers of the Volunteer Corps, which attended the Review at Monaghan, August 21, 1781.

Colonel LUCAS in the Chair.

The following Address to the Reviewing General was unanimously agreed to :

To ALEX. MONTGOMERY, Esq.

WHILE we acknowledge the very high pleasure which the noble appearance of Volunteers this day afforded us, we must do equal justice to our feelings, in expressing great satisfaction at the very public approbation you have avowed to our cause.

We take the same occasion to declare our resolutions of acquiring further knowledge in the use of arms, in so far as the necessary calls of civil life permit. A security from foreign enemies, as well as from internal violence, and still more the preservation of our constitution in its purest form, plead strongly for that continued exertion, and shall have our most active support.

We lament the policy of the present age, which has reduced corruption into a system, and separated the interests of the people from that of their governors. But it is yet of superior concern that our constitution, originally a glorious attempt at human perfection, should not have sufficient powers to check that destructive evil, and that while a corrupt borough influence, and a consequent imperfect representation continue, the people at large, however incorruptible, can afford but a partial relief.

Sir, holding an equality of civil and commercial freedom as constitutional rights, we have been much hurt at the illiberal restrictions, which have hitherto governed the liberties and trade of this kingdom. We hold it as a settled principle, that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are alone competent to make laws, and that the legislative interference of the Privy Council is highly repugnant to such our constitution. Making the regulation of the army perpetual is an act the more alarming and unnecessary, under the existence of a constitutional army, which is equally determined to preserve the peace and liberties of the kingdom. And lastly, it is our wish, and in this, Sir, you will witness our moderation, to have a liberal system of government, which, detesting all monopolies of freedom as of trade, consults the common prosperity of the Empire.

To you, Sir, who, with such consistent rectitude, appear in the field and in the senate the friend of Ireland, we thus make our solemn appeal, as in support of it we wish to imitate your firmness and integrity.

FRANCIS LUCAS, Chairman.



*To the Officers of the Volunteer Corps which attended the Review
at Monaghan, the 20th and 21st of August, 1781.*

Gentlemen,

I HAVE received the honour of your address, and beg you will be assured, that I shall, at all times, take a particular pleasure in expressing my entire approbation of the Volunteers of Ireland, and that I sincerely hope they will continue to exert that noble spirit, which has hitherto enabled them to do such essential service to their country.

I equally with you lament the prevalence of corruption, but I trust a remedy may be found in the virtue of the nation.

Perfectly agreeing with you, gentlemen, in your sentiments on those great public points that you have mentioned, you may rest assured of my best exertions being employed (as they have hitherto been) to redress all evils affecting either our trade or constitution. To have been appointed to so conspicuous a situation as you were pleased to place me in, merits my warmest gratitude, but when I reflect on the persons from whom the appointment came, a body of men associated upon the noblest principles for the protection, peace and honour of their country, it excites emotions that leave me nothing to regret but my own unworthiness.

I am, with the greatest esteem,

And sincerity, gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

And faithful humble servant,

ALEX. MONTGOMERY.

Resolved also unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain Young, exercising Officer, for his conduct and attention to the different corps, before and during the review.

The

*The Address of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers
To the Right Hon. Henry Flood.*

S I R,

IN an age of dissipation, when venality stands in the place of virtue, and tainted ambition is sapping the constitution, a corps of Independent Irish Volunteers stand forth with their warmest acknowledgments, and thank you for unfolding your manly elocution in defence of the rights and liberties of the kingdom.

Animated with the same glorious fire which governs all liberal minds, we freely acknowledge your name will add honour wherever it may be enrolled; we have therefore unanimously elected you an honorary member of our corps; a small, but grateful return for that noble eloquence, that language of conviction, so lately exerted for the advantage of our trade, and limitation of an hateful law.

A steady perseverance, we boldly affirm, may, on a future day, satisfy the wishes of the people, by restoring the constitution to its pristine form. It is through you, sir, in particular, and the virtuous part of the legislature in general, that Ireland must become respectable; or lose that rank in the estimation of nations, which she lately gained by the spirit of her people.

*Royal Exchange,
Nov. 27, 1781.*

Signed by Order,
JAMES ROBINSON, Chairman.

To which the following Answer was returned:

Gentlemen,

I RECEIVE this mark of your generous approbation with the most heart-felt satisfaction.

It gives me pleasure to concur with you in thinking, that a manly constitutional perseverance will restore your rights.

I accept your honourable invitation, and am proud to enrol myself in a corps which deserves so distinguished a place in virtue and in arms. I have ever admired the Volunteers of Ireland; and, having adopted, shall not be among the first to relinquish the character.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,

With the most perfect respect,
Your most obliged and obedient servant,
HENRY FLOOD.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

The continuation of this work is now in the press, which will contain the characters of our present Senators, impartially drawn. Such resolutions as have escaped, or any other papers relative to this undertaking, will be thankfully received (post paid) by Joseph Hill, at his house in Park-place, near Townshend-street, (formerly called Lazor's-hill) or C. H. Wilson, No. 15, Mount-rath-street, Dublin. Mr. Ogle, of Wexford, having promised the particulars of the rise of Volunteering in that county (which is generally thought to be the birth-place of it) they shall also be inserted in the next volume. It is certain, this was compiled in a hurry, and—But I shall not attempt to apologize. I am enough successful as my theme succeeds.

Newmarket Ranger
Newport Volunteer
Newtown

Newmarket Range
Newport Volun
Newtown